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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Selections.

AUSTRIAN DESPOTISM IN AMERICA.

From The Independent.

We are so accustomed to speak of ourselves as the only free nation on the face of the earth, that it may be well occasionally to have our eyes opened to a class of facts which are constantly and increasingly transpiring in our own country. We therefore beg leave to call the attention of our readers to a most extraordinary narrative, detailed in the following letter addressed by Miss Delia Webster to the Rev. Dr. Cheever.

Worcester, Friday, Oct. 19, 1855.

Rev. Dr. Cheever—*Dear Sir:* Agreeably to your request I send you the following summary of facts:

In the year 1842, by the advice of physicians, I first went to Kentucky for the improvement of my health, in company with a clergyman and his wife from Oberlin, Ohio, and visited different portions of the State, and at length went to Lexington. Being short of funds, I opened a painting class in that city to defray current expenses. It was not my purpose to remain there many weeks, but, being repeatedly and urgently solicited by clergymen and other prominent men in the city to establish a permanent school for young ladies, I at length founded the Lexington Academy, which soon became one of the most interesting and flourishing institutions in the State—bringing me an income of $800 per year.

The climate being adapted to my constitution, my health had very greatly improved; and in 1844 my school numbered from 80 to 100 pupils, and I had the entire confidence of the people, notwithstanding it had been understood from the beginning that I was thoroughly anti-slavery.

No suspicions were entertained against me until after the arrest of Mr. Fairbank, in September, 1844, when an anonymous letter was found upon his person addressed, it would seem, to some friend at a distance, and commencing "Dear Brother," and signed "Frater."

In this letter an allusion was made to a Miss W. This use of the initials of my name was entirely without my consent or knowledge, nor did I know aught of the existence of any such letter. Yet it resulted in my immediate apprehension at the midnight hour, without any form or warrant of law, and I was committed to close jail. Some time afterward I was secretly charged with being accessory to the escape of the Hayden family.

In December following this indictment was thrown away, and a new set of indictments was got up—a separate one for each member of the family—and the fourth for another man who escaped some time previous. In these last I was charged as principal instead of accomplice. I was tried only on one indictment, for the escape of the man Lewis.

Such were the excitement and prejudice which prevailed in the community, that a whole day was consumed impannelling a jury. The trial continued five days, during which time the Jury were at large, mingling and talking *ad libitum* with the excited populace.

On the fourth day of the trial the letter above referred to, contrary to all law, was introduced against me. The Court had repeatedly ruled it out as illegal testimony; but at last, the Commonwealth openly declaring they could make out no case without it, the Court admitted it to the Jury, and they retired to consult of their verdict, taking the said letter with them. But failing to agree, they adjourned till the next day, when they compromised, and the foreman drew up a strong petition to the Governor praying for my immediate release, which petition was signed by every member of the Jury, and presented me by the foreman as they returned with the verdict. But before it was presented to the Governor he received a strong remonstrance signed by 120 of the most respectable citizens.

Several gentlemen then came forward and made strong affidavits in my behalf, upon which I asked a new trial, but the life of the Court being threatened if he granted it, the motion was overruled, and I was sentenced to two years' confinement in the Penitentiary.

Upon this, the Hon. Henry Clay, Gen. Leslie Coombs and others of my counsel visited the Governor, laid before him the facts, and asked a respite of the sentence, that I might be tried upon the other three indictments. The Governor was very willing to grant the respite, but, before the papers were completed, my enemies succeeded in secretly smuggling me into the Penitentiary under the cover of darkness.

It was now too late for the respite, and the Governor went himself to the warden and gave orders that I was not to be treated as a common prisoner.

Petitions soon came in from every part of the Commonwealth for my speedy release. The Legislature was in session and presented an urgent prayer to his Excellency in my behalf, signed by every member of that honourable body. Meantime I addressed a brief note to the Governor asking him to examine the evidence and administer *justice*. He sent forthwith to Lexington for a copy of the testimony, which he carefully examined, and immediately thereupon sent me a pardon on the ground that I was convicted contrary to law and testimony.

At this date I had been in the Penitentiary six weeks, and in close confinement from the time of my arrest one hundred and forty-eight days.

I was now anxious for a trial upon the other indictments; but Gov. Ousley advised me not to *insist* upon it, saying that I had already trouble enough, and a heavy bill of expense, and he would see that these indictments were dismissed, that I need have no further annoyance.

During the next term of Court (March, '45), the Commonwealth's attorney motioned that all the remaining indictments against me "*be struck off the docket*," which was done by order of the Court.

After this I remained at the East a period of four years, during the whole of which time I was constantly beset with entreaties and the most urgent solicitations to return to Kentucky and resume my teaching. Some persons who, during the excitement, had been very bitter in their prejudice against me, acknowledged their error, and expressed a desire that some honourable reparation be made for the injuries I had received; and indeed some went so far as to offer to build an academy and present me with a deed of the same, to guarantee me a handsome salary for teaching, and to give me a city residence, or, if I preferred rural life, to present me with a fine farm, ready stocked, and to assist me in any way that I might need. Time after time did they manifest their confidence, to such a degree as to proffer me their servants by the year. Others, again, wished to bring an action against the State for my false imprisonment, and proffered me their gratuitous services.

In the Spring of 1847, they prevailed upon my brother-in-law to move with his family to Frankfort (Ky.), and in 1848 my brother was also induced to accept certain propositions to move to Kentucky, and locate with his family near Georgetown. Early in 1849 the ex-Lieutenant Governor of Indiana was employed to visit me and lay before my mind inducements to return to that climate, and very soon thereafter some Kentucky friends (slaveholders) made a trip to Vermont, expressly to gain the consent of my parents to my returning with them, and I did return and located in Madison, Indiana, frequently visited different portions of Kentucky, and was everywhere received with the utmost cordiality, and the same respect shown me as though I had never been an inmate of their State prison.

In 1852 I purchased a valuable farm, consisting of six hundred acres of superior upland on the fertile banks of the beautiful Ohio (south side), directly opposite and overlooking the city of Madison. Here in my rural home I lived in peace until the Winter of 1854, at which time the persecutions were renewed with tenfold vigour.

An anti-Webster meeting was appointed to be held at the Bedford Court House on the 6th of February, which was attended by a large crowd, and flaming and exciting speeches were made and plans concocted to drive me from the State. A set of resolutions were drawn up and discussed and adopted, the purport of which was as follows:

"Whereas, it is *known* that Miss Delia A. Webster has recently run off numerous slaves from Trimble County; therefore, resolved, that it is the *will* and determination of the citizens of said County that Miss Delia A. Webster leave the State."

A committee of fifty men, comprising the most respectable and wealthy citizens of the County, whose names were appended to the catalogue, were appointed to wait upon me next day to enforce the resolutions. This whole conspiracy was formed without my knowledge, and without any shade or colour of provocation. And on the 7th of February, while quietly seated at my cheerful fireside, enjoying the peaceful retirement of my own little paradise, I was suddenly surprised by the arrival of a large force who had come to carry their plans into execution. It was a dark and dismal day, and the rain pouring down in torrents. Thoroughly drenched, and shivering with the cold, they were invited in to warm. The weather was severe and I ordered the fires recruited. They sat some three-fourths of an hour before they broached the object of their visit, and at length the president introduced the secretary, who reluctantly drew forth a paper, and with a trembling voice read the weighty resolves.

When he had concluded, I raised two objections to the resolutions. First, their illegality; and secondly, they savoured too strongly of cowardice and mobocracy.

I told them that I had chosen Kentucky for my home, and I told them that I expected to live and die there, *notwithstanding* their "*determination*." They then required that I send in a written reply to the resolutions to be read at the next County Court, but utterly and positively refused me a copy of the resolutions to which they required an answer. I, however, replied the best I could from memory, assuring them in very decided terms that I should exercise my right as a "*free white citizen of the United States over the age of twenty-one years*," to live where I chose; that I was not intimidated by their threats, and should stand my ground *defenceless* and *alone*; and when they should see fit to carry their threats into execution, they would not require so large an army to storm so weak a fortress as waited upon me with their resolutions, though they might require a larger one to hold it, &c.

This reply I sent to the Court, as requested. Soon after, another committee, including the Judge himself, was appointed to wait upon me, and add another clause to the resolutions. Ashamed of the business, not a man of the former committee would serve on this.

Next day, being the 7th of March, while engaged in my domestic pursuits, I was again suddenly surprised by the arrival of the committee, who had come to deliver the riotous message in substance as follows: "Unless you consent forthwith to *sell us your plantation*, and speedily leave the State, no more to return, you will be mobbed at a dead hour of the night, and the threats of the *mass* executed."

These threats they did not deem it necessary to enumerate, knowing I had previously been informed of their character, namely:

"Your fences will be torn down, your fine orchard ruined, your valuable timber destroyed, your cattle and horses slain before your eyes, your barns and out-houses burned, your dwelling-houses blown up, and yourself assassinated at the midnight hour."

I told this venerable Committee to tell their constituents they could carry their nefarious threats into execution as soon as they saw fit; that they would find me at home, and though but a lone woman I should stand my ground. That I had invested my "little all" in that piece of land, had paid my taxes promptly, was a law-abiding citizen, and would sacrifice both liberty and life before I would be driven from the field; that I loved Liberty, that my motto was "Freedom or Death," and, if necessary, I would shed the last drop of my blood in defence of my constitutional rights.

I told them further that I supposed that they were perfectly aware of my position before they came, as that was the substance of the reply I sent to their former resolutions.

They declared they had not heard a word of any reply, and until now were not aware I had replied. That it had all been concealed from them, and the general feeling was that I had treated their resolutions with silent contempt. Thus saying, they apologized, assured me of their respect and kind feeling, and tendering their good wishes, they bade me adieu; and I was once more left in quiet.

On the morning of the 13th (same month) my premises were invaded by a gang of ruffians armed with pistols, clubs, &c., and the whole day spent in industrious search, but not finding me they were constrained to believe the statements of my domestics, that having been ill for several days I had taken a trip to Cincinnati for my health, and to get some deeds acknowledged, and as soon as that business was completed would return.

On the 14th I returned, but was still very feeble. I had not been home an hour before a band of men, headed by the High Sheriff, environed my house and demanded of my domestics that their mistress make her appearance instanter. I was in my dressing-room attending to the duties of the toilet, and sent them word to be seated in the parlour and I would be down in a few moments. Desperate, and unwilling to wait an instant, they got an axe, with which they were about breaking down the door, when one of them succeeded in tearing off the lock, and the Sheriff was ascending the staircase, followed by his ruthless gang, when I approached and requested them to return to the parlour and await my convenience. They apologized and withdrew to the parlour. In a few moments I went down and was formally introduced to the Sheriff, who handed me a warrant, which read to this effect:

"Whereas, John W. Coleman states under oath that he *suspects* Delia A. Webster has made an *attempt* to entice away Daniel McCarty Payne's slave Tom, and divers other slaves from Trimble County, therefore I command that Delia A. Webster be forthwith apprehended and brought before me to be dealt with according to law.

(Signed) "Robert Gray."

The Sheriff said this move was only to appease the excitement of a few individuals, and after an examination before the Judge I would be discharged and return home.

I told him plainly that I understood the whole plot, that the case was decided already, and that I should go to jail, and I wished to take with me some articles of wearing apparel. He assured me it was wholly unnecessary, as I would be back in a few hours; and thus they tore me away from home, not allowing me even a change of raiment. Nor was I permitted to send for my attorney, or to summon a single witness. Neither was I allowed a trial by Jury. A score of witnesses and three attorneys were introduced against me, and I had a mock trial. Not the first particle of testimony was found to sustain the charge, and yet this County Judge placed me under $10,000 bonds to leave the State and never return, or go to the County Jail and there lie some four months, and unless I could then prove a negative (a difficult thing for mortal man to prove in such a case, however innocent), I must remain there during life, as the charge, not being criminal or indictable, I could not be sent to the Penitentiary even though it were sustained.

The prison was a log hut of rude construction, foul and filthy, having been used as a pen for the confinement of negroes during the time of collecting a sufficient gang to be transported down the river. The weather was cold, and the only means of having a fire was a rusty iron stove without a pipe. When persons in the vicinity remonstrated at the cruelty of keeping me without a fire, a fire was for some days kindled in the stove, which filled the cabin with smoke, and when this reached to the point of suffocation they dashed water upon it, and then it was confidently said that I had enjoyed a fire in my prison. Observing me standing up by the rude hole which served as a window endeavouring to write, the jailer nailed a board across, which completely excluded the light. In vain I petitioned them to send for a change of clothing, and reduced as I was by sickness I was obliged to lie on a miserable bed with scanty covering for the greater part of my time.

A Kentucky lady in the neighbourhood, the wife of a large slaveholder, hearing of the indignities and hardships to which I was subjected, took up her carriage with a servant, in the midst of a driving storm, bringing with her in a basket a supply of clothing and other necessaries suited to my suffering state. The jailer, however, doggedly refused to open the door or allow her to have an interview with me. He and his wife even refused to convey to me the comforts which were brought, saying that "my spirit had got to be subdued by hardships till I would be willing to give up and leave the State." Finding all importunities useless, she commanded her servant to take off the board from the window, and then resolutely stood by while he passed to me the contents of the basket, and when the jailer undertook to interfere, she told him "he would be made to feel her husband's influence on his position if he did not desist." I had found means to communicate with my lawyers, and on the 8th of April, 1854, I was taken out on a writ of habeas corpus and tried before another Judge and discharged on the ground of entire innocence, this charge being pronounced groundless. I had now been confined in a most loathsome dungeon where I was forbidden a breath of fresh air for the period of 25 days.

After this I returned to my rural pursuits, and after superintending the ploughing and planting of a hundred acres of corn, ten of potatoes, and the harvesting of my oats and other crops, I removed my dwelling-place across the river to Indiana.

On the 16th of June I went over to the estate to see one of my tenants who was very sick. The day was excessively hot. I was overcome with fatigue and taken suddenly ill, and had to be carried to the house. I lay there helpless under the care of a physician until the 19th, when I was again arrested upon a warrant issued by a justice of the peace in the City of Lexington, commanding my immediate apprehension on account of the escape of the wife of Lewis Hayden, who with her family was missing ten years before. You will recollect that I was arrested and imprisoned for the same offence in 1844. The officers found me too sick to be removed without endangering my life, and therefore stationed three armed men at the house to prevent my escape. Several other officers were stationed a little distance from the house to prevent the possibility of my being rescued by the Indianians. In the course of the next day, however, I found means to escape into Indiana.

My pursuers had among them a man who, from certain reasons of his own, was my personal enemy. By his agency, immediately after this, through his intrigues three old indictments, which the Commonwealth Attorney had stricken from the docket ten years ago, by order of the Court, were re-docketed, and warrants issued under them for my arrest. Knowing that this might appear an incredible thing in our country, I hold in my hands perfect documentary evidence of the fact, which I am able at any time to exhibit. The Governor of Kentucky, on the strength of these indictments, sent to the Governor of Indiana demanding me as a fugitive from justice. Without any inquiry as to the merits of the case, the Governor delivered me up.

The Indianians, indignant at such an outrage upon a peacable citizen, hid me from my pursuers. Sometimes they secreted me in the city and sometimes in the country—in the hay-mow, in the woods, under brush-heaps, in the rye-field, in clefts of rocks—sometimes in one place and sometimes in another, until I was too feeble to be longer moved about.

While I lay prostrate with sickness, after some twelve days' search, the officers got track of me, took me off from the bed, put me in an open buggy and drove me some fifteen miles under a scorching July sun, and after dark made a daring attempt to smuggle me across the river. There again they were defeated, and took me secretly to Madison, where they confined me in jail, to await the arrival of the Kentucky officers.

The vigilant Indianians determined I should have the benefit of a "habeas corpus," and a large number of volunteers stationed themselves around the jail to prevent my being kidnapped by the Kentuckians; and there I lay in close jail 20 days before I was able to be taken out for trial. The evening prior to the trial, lo, *another* requisition arrived demanding me upon another ten years old indictment.

On the evening of the 21st of July, 1854, both warrants having been tried, I was discharged from custody by the decision of Judge Walker, of Madison, Ind.

Again foiled, those slaveholding Kentuckians return to plunder my premises; and under the guise of law my house is robbed of its entire contents, my farming utensils are seized, my grain, hay, &c., are taken away, my cattle and other stock driven off, and I am deprived of my entire personal property, even to my wardrobe. Nothing whatever is left upon the place save the growing crops, the property seized amounting to $9,000.

At the next Circuit Court their writ of attachment is dismissed, and it becomes the duty of the officer to return property to my possession. Instead of this, he secretly sells what had not before been destroyed, and the slaveholders pocket the money.

Are they satisfied now? No. While on a visit to my aged mother in Vermont, they take advantage of my absence, steal and sell my crops, pocket the money; and when I return to make a payment of $2,000 on my place, lo! I have nothing with which to make it—am bereft of my last dollar, the payment due, and I penniless.

This last Spring, to prevent my sending on tenants to take care of the place, they broke open and demolished six of my dwelling-houses, and burned the seventh.

My close confinement in the four different prisons, amounts to 193 days, and the loss of property to $11,000.

You have here but the outline of my persecutions, and are at liberty to make such use of them as your superior judgment shall dictate.

Respectfully and truly yours,

Delia A. Webster.

This remarkable history is authenticated by the most perfect documentary evidence, which Miss Webster is able at any time to produce, and which has been seen by many persons of distinction in different parts of our State. It shows very distinctly what sort of laws, manners and usages are to be expected in slave States. Those who are indifferent to the spread of slavery over free territory may yet live to feel themselves the iron rod of that tyranny about which now they are so indifferent. Miss Webster's history shows that there are many individuals in Kentucky who are high-minded, gallant and disposed to do what little lies in their power for the relief of such suffering. But they are utterly powerless to stay the hand of injustice; and so will all individuals ever be in a State whose institutions recognise and uphold the most arbitrary despotism which is to be found on the face of the earth.

H. B. Stowe.

MR. PILLSBURY IN EDINBURGH.

From The (London) Anti-Slavery Advocate.

Our Edinburgh correspondent informs us that Parker Pillsbury, Esq., lately delivered a Public Anti-Slavery Lecture in that city, in Dr. French's Church, South College street, and forwards to us the following report of it, taken from the *Scottish Press:*

"On Tuesday evening a lecture was delivered on slavery by Mr. Parker Pillsbury, of Boston, United States, in South College street Church—Mr. Stott in the chair. In the course of his lecture, Mr. Pillsbury remarked that it was quite a mistake to suppose that slavery was generally regarded in America with feelings of abhorrence. The question at present was not so much how to do away with slavery as to persuade the American people that there was a necessity for its being done away with—once persuaded, they would soon find ways and means for themselves. The pro-slavery of the American churches was the great obstacle, for so long as divines and members of churches approved of slavery as a dispensation of Providence, and were in many cases slave-holders, the great body of the people would be content to submit to, and allow their consciences to be soothed by, such authority. It had often been urged against the Abolitionists that they took every opportunity of stabbing at religion, and he confessed the charge, if that were religion which authorized the perpetration of all the enormities consequent on the maintenance of slavery. According to Albert Barnes, the American churches were the bulwarks of slavery, and there was no power out of the church which could sustain slavery one hour if it were not sustained in it. As examples of the general spirit of American religion on the subject, Mr. Pillsbury instanced the conduct of one of the most influential religious bodies. The American Bible Society, which professed to distribute Bibles to every class, was offered, a few years ago, by the Abolitionists, a donation of five thousand dollars, on condition that slaves should be included among those to whom distribution was made; but the offer had never been accepted. A proposal was indeed made at an auxiliary meeting of the Society to distribute Bibles among the slaves, in order that they might not remain in ignorance of the Divine authority by which they were held in slavery, and might so become resigned to their lot! The Tract Society likewise, whose publications were distributed over the country in immense numbers, not only did not issue anything bearing against slavery, but actually expunged such passages from various English books reprinted by them. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had also given countenance to slavery, by eulogizing in the highest terms the government, laws and moral and religious character of a tribe of Indians, whose enactments in regard to negroes were always of the most stringent nature, and did not forbid their own missionaries and members of their churches there from being slaveholders. When it was also taken into consideration that polygamy as well as slaveholding was sanctioned among these Indians by that body, it would be well for this country to consider whether, as had been proposed, a junction should be effected with it for sending a mission to the Turks. Mr. P. also quoted from sermons of several clergymen of eminence in the American Church, in favour of the Fugitive Slave law. At the conclusion of Mr. Pillsbury's address, it was proposed by Mr. Mushet that there should be added to a resolution expressing the thanks of the meeting, a clause intimating its deliberate opinion that the American Churches were not worthy of the name of Christians, and that the Churches of Britain should neither have any connection with the American Board of Foreign Missions, nor extend pecuniary assistance to the Bible and Tract Societies. It was agreed that the spirit of this resolution should be embodied in those to be moved at a public anti-slavery meeting to be held ere long."

We understand that after a vote of thanks to the lecturer, which was warmly responded to by the meeting, the chairman took occasion to allude to the practical methods by which interest could be evinced for the slave. Among these he enumerated the importance of sending remonstrances to the American Churches, of sustaining the hands of the Abolitionists, and acquiring and spreading anti-slavery information; strongly recommending every one to subscribe for the *Anti-Slavery Advocate*, a little periodical of great value, and costing only one shilling a year; he would recommend that it should be taken by every family, so that its teachings on this great question might be handed down to our children; and when we should be laid in the grave these might remain with them, and bring forth fresh labourers to this holy cause.

We learn from the same source that Mr. Pillsbury met the members of the Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Committee on the 4th October, and gave much valuable information, for which the cordial acknowledgments of the meeting were tendered to him. He has also mingled in many social gatherings in Edinburgh, and has excited much interest by his communications.

Perth.—Mr. Parker Pillsbury delivered a lengthened and able address on American slavery, in the City Hall here, on the 17th October, to a respectable audience. The felicitous manner in which he gave an exposition of the movements of the various parties in the United States was listened to with marked attention, and it is to be hoped will be productive of benefit to the cause. The Rev. Dr. Young and the Rev. Joseph Clare respectively occupied the chair; and the Rev. W. D. Knowles proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Pillsbury for his instructive and interesting address. On the following day, Mr. Pillsbury had a friendly meeting with the ladies of the Anti-Slavery Society, when he urged the claims of the American Society to the continued support of those interested in the cause of humanity.—*Ib.*

From The Burlington (N. J.) Sentinel.

TO PASSMORE WILLIAMSON,

Confined in Prison, by Judge Kane, for alleged Contempt of Court in the Wheeler Slave Case.

BY JOHN COLLINS.

When first the sun gleams on grey Bunker's pile,
Dim twilight shrouds the misty vale below;
And still its peak returns his latest smile
In saffron glow.

Thus shine the glorious deeds of martyrs gone,
Earliest and brightest on the page of Fame—
Time may destroy their monumental stone,
But not their name.

All who for freedom live, or bleed or die,
In noble daring of tyrannic sway,
Pass not unnoticed to their rest on high
In endless day.

The sympathetic word—the heart humane—
The unflinching courage for the trembling slave—
Appeal not to the heavens for strength in vain
To aid the brave.

Whoe'er impelled by love of human kind,
Bids the sad bondman breathe a freer air,
And from the long-untaught, benighted mind,
Its shackless tear;

Oft, tho' his tears in secret paths be strown,
Shall reap the thanks of myriads yet unborn;
While the oppressor's name shall live alone
In endless scorn.

Bear on, then, sufferer! gird thee for the fight!
Tho' all the powers of darkness may assail,
Though fierce the contest between might and right,
Truth shall prevail.

What though immured, thy body waste away,
Deprived of light and air to mortals given,
Canst thou not see, amid thy twilight day,
A gleam of heaven?

Far happier thou than he who placed thee there—
The *unjust* judge—to *truth*, to *reason blind*;
Thy soul is peaceful—*he* must ever bear
A tortured mind.

The heart that bleeds for the oppressed in chains
Shall ever beat in unison with thine,
Long as our love for fellow-men retains
A spark divine.

And they who cared not for the vile decree
That fain would drive out freedom from our sight,
Shall, when they know what bonds now fetter thee,
Maintain the right.

The hallowed spirit of the pilgrim band,
Of friends—of home bereft, for conscience' sake,
May, soon, in startling echoes through the land,
A nation wake.

God keep thee in thy noble purpose, then!
The tyrant's claim presumptuous to deny,
Or, if the voice of truth be heard in vain,
In prison, die.

Firm as the rock that breaks the angry wave,
And rears its head above the tempest strife,
Be thou, the friend of freedom and the slave,
In death or life.

10 mo. 23, 1855.

THE VOICE OF VERMONT.

[Two sets of Resolutions relating to Slavery, Kansas, &c., were adopted by the Legislature of Vermont, at its session just closed, as follows:]

No. 44. Resolutions on so much of the Governor's Message as relates to Kansas.

Whereas, The power and influence of the slaveholding States in this Union has been, from an early period, successfully exerted in extending and strengthening the institution of human slavery, contrary to the clear intent of the founders of the Government, and in violation of the spirit of the Constitution; and

Whereas, in order still further to extend slavery and to establish it in the free Territories of the United States, there have been passed the Fugitive Slave law, so called, and the code establishing Territorial Government in the free Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, with provisions inviting the establishment of slavery therein; and in furtherance of this purpose, the citizens of Missouri have been suffered to invade the Territory of Kansas, in armed bands, and to prevent thereby the people of said Kansas from making their own laws, or electing their own representatives, and, by lawless force, to exclude them from exercising any voice in the government of said Territory; and

Whereas, the present Administration of the General Government has lent itself to these illegal and unjust schemes; and has either openly aided therein or secretly connived thereat; and has taken no steps to execute the laws, or to protect the people of said Territory in the exercise of their constitutional rights, thus publicly assailed and overthrown, and has, upon false pretences, removed such of its own officers as were not entirely subservient to those bad designs; and

Whereas, the right of citizens of slaveholding States to hold slaves in, and transport them through, the free States, has of late been asserted, and the act attempted, and, in consequence thereof, a citizen of a sister State has been put in prison, under the usurped or grossly perverted power of a Federal Judge; therefore, it is, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Vermont,

Resolved, That the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 is contrary to the spirit of the Constitution of the United States, in subversion of the rights and a flagrant outrage upon the spirit of a free people; and that the same ought to be immediately repealed.

Resolved, That the enactment of the provisions of the territorial code of 1854, which abrogated the ancient prohibition of slavery in said Territories, and opened them to the wicked acts and calamitous results of that institution, was a gross fraud upon the just rights of the people—a faithless breach of solemn public compact, of which the slaveholding interest had already reaped the full benefit—an insult to the free States, and in violation of the natural rights of man; and that it merits the condemnation of the civilized world.

Resolved, That the armed and unlawful invasion of Kansas, by citizens of Missouri, and their illegal and forcible exclusion of the people of that Territory from all the political rights to which they were entitled in the government thereof, for the sole purpose of establishing slavery therein, under the semblance of law, was an act of atrocity unequalled in the political history of this nation, and directly subversive of the fundamental principles of republican government, and that the State of Missouri will be justly chargeable as a party to that wrong, unless she publicly and distinctly disavow said acts of her citizens, and use every means in her power to prevent a recurrence thereof.

Resolved, That the non-interference of the Federal Administration, to prevent or punish said outrages, justly makes it, in the estimation of mankind, accessory thereto, and unworthy of the confidence or respect of freemen.

Resolved, That Vermont, while she will in no way assail the constitutional and domestic rights of the slaveholding States, will, to the utmost of her power, uphold and sustain the people of the Territories in their lawful effort to exclude slavery therefrom; that she will, at all hazards, and to the last extremity, resist all encroachments upon the constitutional rights of the States; that, to the extent of her ability, she will oppose the extension of slavery into, and the existence thereof in, the Territories of the United States, and the admission into the Union of any State whose Constitution does not perpetually prohibit slavery therein.

Resolved, That the slave who treads the soil of a free State by the consent of his master becomes thereby at once and forever free, and entitled to the exercise of the whole power of the State, when necessary, in the defence of his freedom.

Resolved, That, in the opinion of the General Assembly, no District Court of the United States has jurisdiction to issue writs of habeas corpus, or to render judgment thereon, except when necessary to the orderly proceeding of suits pending therein, or in order to inquire into the legality of commitments made under colour of its authority, and, therefore, that the imprisonment of Passmore Williamson, under the authority of the District Court of the United States for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, was not warranted by law, and void.

Resolved, That our Senators be, and they are hereby, instructed, and our Representatives in Congress are requested, to do all in their power to carry out the spirit and intent of the foregoing resolutions.

Resolved, That the Governor be requested to cause a copy of these resolutions, properly certified, to be sent to each of our Senators and Representatives, to be by them communicated to Congress; and that a copy of the same be also sent to the Governor of each State in the Union, with a request that they be laid before the Legislature thereof.

In House of Representatives, Nov. 12, 1855.
Read and adopted.
Geo. R. Thompson, Assistant Clerk.
In Senate, Nov. 15, 1855.
Read and adopted in concurrence.
C. H. Chapman, Secretary.

No. 45. Resolutions relating to the extension of slavery, and the right of the slave to his freedom when brought into a free State.

1. Resolved, That on the extension of slavery, by the authority or connivance of the National Government, into any territory by nature or by law free from that great curse of humanity, Vermont has no new doctrine to profess—no new sentiments of abhorrence to make known. She always has protested against it. She protests against it now; and she intends to resist by all the lawful and constitutional means in her power.

2. Resolved, That the people of Kansas, invited to settle there by the acts of the National Government, yet left wholly unprotected from lawless invaders, who, by force and arms, usurped the powers which had been given only to its proper inhabitants, did right to disavow all allegiance to the body which their invaders placed over them; that, in considering themselves as without law, and therefore proceeding to organize themselves as a political community, they exercised the rights which God has given to all human beings so placed.

3. Resolved, That the people of Kansas, acting under a Constitution framed by themselves in an orderly manner, and sanctioned by a majority of its adult male inhabitants, may rightfully request Congress to admit Kansas to the Union, as a free and sovereign State; and if it shall appear that their Constitution is of a republican form, and inhibits slavery in that State for time to come, then such admission ought to take place, and the Senators and Representatives of Vermont are instructed and urged to vote for it accordingly.

4. Resolved, That the Fugitive Slave law of 1850 is a violation of the Constitution, an insult to the free States, an outrage on the rights of man, and a disgrace to the statute books of the nation; and the people of Vermont will indignantly rebuke any Senator or Representative of theirs in the National Congress who does not use his influence to bring about its entire repeal, or that of its odious and unjust provisions.

5. Resolved, That the act of Judge Kane, of the United States Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, in issuing a writ of habeas corpus, as a means for reducing again to slavery persons who were lawfully made free by the acts of their former owner, was a gross usurpation of authority not given to him by the Constitution or by any law whatever; that his committing to prison, without bail or mainprize, as for contempt, a freeman, who had made a true and respectful return to his writ, was a daring and unrighteous abuse of power, which deserves the condemnation of all lovers of freedom and justice; that the declaration made by him, that by national law a slaveholder may freely take his slaves across a free State, and yet retain his power as master and owner over them, any State law to the contrary notwithstanding, is in defiance of the decisions of the ablest jurists of all States and all times; and all attempts to practice in accordance with so monstrous a doctrine should meet with a determined resistance by all the inhabitants and authorities of the free States.

In Senate, Nov. 14, 1855.
Read and adopted.
Clark H. Chapman, Secretary.
In House of Representatives, Nov. 14, 1855.
Read and adopted in concurrence.
Jedd P. C. Cottrill, Assistant Clerk.

CALEB CUSHING'S PLAN FOR STOPPING THE ANTI-SLAVERY AGITATION.

Correspondence of the Evening Post.

Boston, Nov. 19, 1855.

That Caleb Cushing is desirous of plunging the nation into a war with England is well known to all intelligent men in these parts. General Cushing belongs to that old school of statesmen with whom blood-letting was the sovereign cure for all the ills of the political body. He would have ranked high with those Sangradoes who think that phlebotomy and hot water should ever go together. He would have made a capital minister under the old French monarchy, and would have got up a war, without any regard to its justice, or the interest of his country, with as little scruple as Louvois himself. What he himself might make by a war, would be the only consideration by which he could be affected. His moral nature is such that he is capable of considering only his own immediate interest in any matter; and even that he can consider only under the extremely narrow view to which purely selfish men are subjected. Such men, in the long run, do as much injury to themselves as to others. The pity is, that they should ever reach to places whence their action injuriously affects whole nations, and sometimes is felt through centuries.

Those who are acquainted with General Cushing's opinions, from having heard him talk, are aware that he has for some years been impressed with the belief that nothing but a foreign war, to be waged on a great scale with a great nation, will ever be found equal—not to the permanent settlement, but to the temporary pacification of the quarrel that has grown out of the slavery question. Even he is not so sanguine as to believe that that quarrel can be settled forever, or for any great length of time, by war; but he does believe, and has so said hundreds of times, that a war, if of a sufficiently comprehensive character, would cause the people of both sections of the republic to forget that there are such sections in the development of an intense nationality. He would, by having resort to one of the gravest of evils, cause men to lose sight of another evil of, perhaps, not less magnitude. He would subdue the anti-slavery sentiment of the North through the development of the sentiment of patriotism. He would stop the progress of disunion in the South (the only quarter of the Union in which it has had any existence during the last forty years) in the same way. He is for giving the people everywhere something else to think about than those domestic subjects which are so imperatively demanding their attention. If, he thinks, there could be something done to make the dwellers on the Merrimack feel as one with the dwellers on the Savannah, the former would, for a time, perhaps for a whole generation, forget the existence of slavery. A foreign war, according to his view of things, can alone call into existence that universality of sentiment by which men are bound together in spite of the divisions effected by space and time. The idea, you will perceive, belongs to the ancient order of statesmanship. It has nothing American about it. All preceding American statesmen have done their utmost to maintain peace, and they never have entered upon war, except under feelings of the most lively regret. Washington's aversion to war is well known. John Adams mortally offended the fanatical Federalists because he made peace with France as soon as opportunity was offered for effecting it. Jefferson carried his aversion to war so far as to enter with reluctance upon those just contests with the Barbary powers that ended so brilliantly. Madison was induced to give his consent to the declaration of war against England, only from the extreme nature of the case. Both Monroe and J. Q. Adams, though tempted, would do nothing to compromise the country's peace. Not a few persons thought that General Jackson's election would endanger the peace of the world, yet no man ever exceeded that great soldier in endeavours to maintain amicable relations between the United States and foreign nations. Mr. Van Buren refused to be led away from the paths of peace, when he might have secured his reelection had he got up a war, which he could have done with perfect ease. The attack on and destruction of the Carolina was as clearly an act of war as was ever perpetrated; and if the President had only said the word, he could have added Canada to our territory, long before England would have sent a single company to its defence. But he would not do anything that would compromise the world's peace, so long as there was any chance of preserving it by negotiations. Tyler settled the north-eastern boundary question. Polk, though committed to "the whole of Oregon" doctrine, sent a special minister to England to settle the dispute by accepting half of the country claimed. Taylor and Fillmore never imperilled the peace of the nation, or seemed to think that war was a panacea for domestic evils. The present Administration is the sole one that has ever acted as if it thought it was its duty to plunge the country into war, as a deliberate piece of statesmanship, for which great credit should be given, and from which vast good is to flow. Mr. Marcy is the only man in the cabinet who has not been reduced by Cushing's profligate misuse of logic, and the manner in which his functions have been usurped by the Attorney-General shows that the latter's views are altogether in the ascendant. Whatever has been done to get up difficulties, has been done with deliberation, and of set purpose. The existence of the Russian war has aided Cushing's scheme to a partial development. The idea of going to the assistance of the Czar—of a country, or rather of a government, which has treated us with contempt in the days of the revolution, and made its acknowledgment of our nationality to depend upon the previous recognition of it by England herself—such an idea, I say, is dear to the Attorney-General, because it would not only obtain for us a great European alliance, and cut us off from all chance of being troubled by the liberals of that quarter of the world hereafter for either "sympathy" or "material aid," but also because it would bind together the two powerful slave-supporting nations of the world. Whatever of sympathy there exists for Russia in this country, allowance being made for the opinions of a few eccentric individuals, is the sympathy of one slaveholding power with the another. It is the sympathy of slave-selling Americans with the serf-transferring Russians; of the scourgers of negro women with the whippers of Polish women; of the arresters of fugitives from slavery with the Calmuck chivalry which gave up the conquered Hungarians to the gibbets and dungeons of Austria; of the enemies of England because she has put herself in determined opposition to African slavery, with the avowed haters of constitutionally-governed nations, but who affect to regard democracy, which they cannot understand, with favour. To make an offensive and defensive alliance with the enemy of revolutions, to throw the American sword (which has never yet been drawn in support of any other freedom than our own) into the scale of despotism and barbarism, would be a proper foreign policy for that administration which has made use of all its power to promote the extension of domestic slavery. There would then be complete harmony between the foreign and the home policy of the government. This is exactly what Cushing is aiming at, and what he may yet accomplish, though he is now acting in utter violation of the principles of his earlier life, when he heartily sympathized with the liberals of Europe, and wrote in their interest. So was he an anti-slavery man in our domestic politics, and on that account was sent to Congress.

The whole scheme of getting up a war with England, which means also a war with France, could have had no success, if it had had no assistance from the English themselves. Unfortunately, the English press has been doing the work of our slaveocrats, and has, by its extreme folly, done more to bring about a rupture than would have been effected by the Administration in five years. If war should happen between the two countries while Pierce is President, the occasion of it, though not its cause, will be due to the English press, which has often exasperated foreign nations, and caused England to be hated by those who admired her institutions, and would gladly have loved her people! A nation ought not to be punished because its press lacks wisdom, but the world

generous scorn, described the conduct of a northern visitor, who had tried to please her by defending and praising what he saw. Such sycophants are not only traitors to freedom, but mistake, very frequently, the real feelings of those whom they attempt to flatter. There was a third class, a small but earnest one, who felt that they could not tolerate the system. They saw that the South was tyrannized over by an oligarchy, who were bringing ruin upon it, and crushing their poor white fellow-citizens. The white labourer and artisan were degraded in the South. There were few persons more despicable than the earth-eaters, as they were called. These reformers, who were determined to achieve freedom for their States, strove for all approximations to it. A great point would be gained if the slave trade were forbidden, and no slave was to be sold off an estate, if education were permitted, and the sanctity of marriage respected, and other of the revolting evils of slavery prevented. It needed no small courage for men to advocate freedom in slave States. He might instance the courageous Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, who spoke boldly, knowing, however, that he might at any time meet with a violent death in consequence. Of C. M. Clay he related a characteristic anecdote. Mr. C. M. Clay was visiting a friend in Philadelphia, and was conversing in so quiet and gentle a manner that no one would give him credit for much stern heroism. His friend said, "Now, supposing you were in a crowd of slaveholders, and they gave you the lie, and threatened your life, what should you do?" He replied, "With my servant by my side, and bowie-knives in our hands, we would cut our way through them like war-chariots!" His tone and gesture showed how resolute was his purpose; he was just the man to resist to the death in maintenance of his principles. When we involve the South in one general censure, we must not forget that such men are living there.

He would now speak of the North. In the early days of the Republic it was generally expected that slavery would, ere long, meet with a natural death under free institutions. From various causes, however, the spirit of freedom had declined, and the strength of the North had been sapped by compromises. The man to whom, of all others, the awakening of an uncompromising resistance to oppression was due is William Lloyd Garrison. He could speak the more freely in his honour because he did not accord in his philosophy of antagonisms, and regretted some extremes to which his puritanical nurture had perhaps led him. To Mr. Garrison must be assigned the first place as the leader of those who demanded entire and immediate emancipation for the slave, and who refused to tamper or have any dealings with wrong. He had mentioned the extreme party of defenders of slavery in the South, they were met by these champions of liberty in the North. Then there was a middle class, of those who thought slavery very dreadful and sinful, but who wished to persuade themselves that there was nothing which they could do to check or overthrow it. Then, again, there was a third class, the Political Abolitionists, which comprised many sub-divisions, to which he could scarcely even advert. They had now learnt that slavery was not a declining evil, but that it had been allowed to assume an influence which was destroying the free character of the Republic. The slaveholders had been more earnest and successful in the propagation of slavery than the North had been of liberty. If not resisted, it might be found that States now nominally free would admit slavery into their borders. They wish to employ against slavery those constitutional powers which their untiring and united opponents had hitherto employed to maintain and extend it. One of those who had just given their adhesion to the new Republican party was Governor Seward, a man well qualified to be a leader, and whose courage had been tested in the following incident: A poor negro had been imprisoned, on the charge of horse stealing, in the prison of Auburn, New York. The wrongs that had been inflicted on him so preyed upon his mind that his reason was affected, and, soon after his release, he perpetrated some dreadful murders. No motive could be assigned for them, as his victims had befriended him, and his barbarities excited the utmost horror. When he was brought to trial, the judge asked the prisoner if there was any counsel to defend him. When the bewildered man made no answer, Mr. Seward, then a rising lawyer, undertook the office. His defence of an object of popular odium had previously done him great injury, and his heroism on this occasion can only be estimated by the violent rage of those who were crying out for the negro's death. He brought forward such cogent proofs of the murderer's insanity that the jury were convinced: and, when, after the negro's death, which shortly happened, his brain was examined, the obvious signs of disease made Mr. Seward's sound judgment as manifest as his heroism had been. Connected with the Political Abolitionists were the eminent philanthropist Gerrit Smith, and Frederick Douglass, whose own experiences of slavery gave increased power to his eloquence. He might name many other distinguished men, did time permit. If the North would unite in such a Republican party, it could prevent the extension of slavery, and secure all the vast Territories of the United States for freedom; and in various other ways effectually weaken the influences of tyranny, and hasten the progress of emancipation. Congress could not indeed decree that slavery should cease in the States which permitted it. The Constitution did not authorize them to interfere with the State governments; they could not force this change against the will of any State. And there was this objection to the plan of compensation, which some recommend after the example of Great Britain—that it would seem to recognise an existing right of property in man. He believed, however, that when the spirit of freedom actuated those who professed to prize it, a way out of the present evils would be found. He did not wish the North to meet the South in angry assault. Those States which had abolished slavery were not yet free from complicity with it. All had been more or less in fault. The sin was national, the atonement for it must be national, by a national sacrifice. As the Northern States had from time to time set those slaves free which were once within their borders, let them show sympathy and encouragement to those that might follow their example. There were States that were waking up to the evil of the system, but dared not meet the immediate loss and disorganization which they anticipated from emancipation. Now, if the North were united and true, it might enable Congress to say to such a State, the people of which had resolved to declare freedom, "We do not buy slaves, but are willing to make you a grant, to put your purpose of freedom into easier operation, and if your coloured population is more numerous than you venture to retain among you uncoerced, we will make you, on their behalf, a grant from our public lands, and will assist their migration." If Congress had voted millions to purchase from foreign governments regions which had been devoted to slavery, it was surely in its power to redeem the evil in some measure, by making grants to its own States, to promote that freedom which was the origin of its national life.

The issue of the present struggle it was impossible to predict. One point was already gained—discussion could no longer be stifled, and the North was waking to the conviction that this was the great question to which all others must be subordinate. A quarter of a century—perhaps a very few years—might witness bloodless victories for freedom, which, at one time, could have hardly been anticipated; but there was a fearful alternative on which it was painful to dwell. He concluded his address by inviting the sympathy of those who wished well to America for all who were labouring to remove its greatest evil.*

Mr. Carpenter expressed the deep interest with which he had listened to Mr. Channing's Address, which was no less just and candid than eloquent. The cause of justice and freedom is best promoted by such just and free advocacy. He hoped his hearers would not only show practical sympathy with those who were striving for freedom in America, but would do their utmost to imbue with right principles those who were continually leaving our shores to settle in the States, and would let their hopes and convictions be known to their friends and correspondents across the Atlantic.

On the motion of I. B. Cooke, Esq., seconded by T. B. Blackburne, Esq., the cordial thanks of the meeting were voted to Mr. Channing.

* We have not attempted, in this concise summary of Mr. Channing's address, to give more than his leading ideas. Those who have heard the speaker may imagine the eloquence in which he clothed them.

THE PASSMORE WILLIAMSON CASE.

INTERFERENCE OF THE PRESIDENT — A REMARKABLE STATEMENT. — A correspondent of the *Cincinnati Gazette* writes from Pittsburg that, when the case of Passmore Williamson was argued before the Supreme Court, last Summer, at Bedford, on motion to bring Williamson out on a writ of *habeas corpus*, three of the Judges (Messrs. Lowrie, Woodward and Knox) were in favour of granting the writ, and two (Messrs. Black and Lewis) opposed it. When the Court reassembled in Philadelphia, Judge Kane and his friends had an interview with the Judges, and communicated to them the fact that the President had ordered the United States Marshal, in case the Court should direct the writ to issue, to remove Williamson from Moyamensing to a United States receiving ship, and defend him there, with United States marines and soldiers, against any force the State might send to take him. The question presented to our Judges was, whether it was prudent to risk the threatened collision? I am sorry to say that they thought it was not. They had not the nerve to stand up for State Rights. Judges Lowrie and Woodward changed their opinions, and the writ of *habeas corpus* was not issued. The threat—for it was a threat—should have been an incentive to its issue, instead of the pusillanimous course adopted; for the question of State Rights has got to be settled, and this was the opportunity needed. Is this true? If it is not, the Honourable Judges owe it to themselves explicitly and *positively* to contradict it. The people of this Commonwealth are lenient to mistakes and errors, when they are satisfied they are inadvertently and honestly committed. But they make no apology, and accept of no excuse, for wrong acts committed under influence of promises, fears or threats. We should like to know if President Pierce had the effrontery and the audacity to threaten "the United States Marshal, in case the Court should direct the writ to issue, should be ordered to remove Williamson from Moyamensing to a United States receiving ship, and defend him there, against any force the State might send to take him." Is this true? That's what we want to know! And is it true that Judges Woodward and Lowrie cowed before this threat and changed their minds? That's what we want *especially* to know!—*Lancaster (Pa.) Ind. Whig.*

ADVANTAGES OF "OUR GLORIOUS UNION" ILLUSTRATED.

A CITIZEN OF SYRACUSE EXPELLED FROM FLORIDA.

From The Syracuse Chronicle.

In the early part of last winter, E. T. Hayden, of this city, and of the firm of Kingsley & Hayden, builders, went to Florida to make some erections for a gentleman residing in Gadsden County of that State. Mr. Hayden is a very intelligent man, an old resident of Syracuse, and an active member of the First Presbyterian church, where he is commonly called Deacon Hayden. In Florida he associated himself with the church and went on to pursue the objects which had called him thither with the energy of a northern freeman, and soon secured the respect and confidence due to intelligence and worth. Mr. Hayden at home was not regarded as an Abolitionist. He was no friend of slavery, but had always taken a strong interest in colonization as a principal remedy for that great evil. He was politically a Seward Whig, and held about the opinions common to that school of politicians. While residing at the South he scrupulously stood aloof from all differences between the master and his slaves, and from all active interference with slavery in every way. But he did not shut his mouth. When questioned on the subject, he declared, as an honest man should, that he was against the usage; that he regarded the Bible as against it; and that humanity and the best instincts of our nature were against it. He also freely expressed his belief that the Fugitive Slave law was in direct conflict with the provisions of the Constitution and with the "higher law" of God. These expressions of opinion were made only in the private circle, among his friends, and never seemed to create any excitement or displeasure.

But at length rumours began to grow that Mr. Hayden was an Abolitionist, and did not believe in the gospel of slavery. The first that he knew of these rumours he learned from a self-constituted committee, consisting of his minister and some members of the church which he attended, who, in the spirit of kindness, waited on him to let him know what kind of talk was current in the neighbourhood and what treatment he would be likely to meet. The next step in the transaction was the following notice, which was posted up in sundry places:

"PRIVATE NOTICE.

"*Querry.*—Are there any Abolitionists amongst us?

"*Querry again.*—Any Amalgamationists?

"*Querry once more* and the greatest of all!—Are we fit to own niggers and let such fellows be amongst us, and not give them fits? Spose we haint got no real spunk? his

"Yours respectfully, —||—

"Many voters, mark."

At length a meeting was called at the Court-House, and Mr. Hayden was notified to attend. There were present at this meeting some two hundred people, and one of the most respectable slaveholders, an Episcopalian, was called to the chair. There were present a Judge of the Supreme Court, several Lawyers, several Ministers, and some of the most respectable planters of the place. At this meeting, Mr. Hayden was permitted to plead to the indictment which had been drawn up against him in the Court of Judge Lynch.

He did not at all attempt to evade the facts. He stated to the meeting that he was against slavery; that he believed the Bible was against slavery; that he believed the Fugitive Slave law unconstitutional; that it commanded what the word of God forbade; and that the North would never consent that it should be carried into effect. Having made this explicit statement of what he *did* say and what he *did not* say, what he *did* believe and what he *did not* believe, he was requested to withdraw, and the meeting proceeded to appoint a committee of seven slaveholders, to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting. They retired, and Mr. Hayden is informed that they came in with a report exculpating him from any overt act prejudicial to slavery, and recommending no action. This report was not satisfactory to the meeting and it was voted down. The committee then retired, and, after consultation, presented the following, an official copy of which is before us:

"Whereas, E. T. Hayden, as has been shown to this meeting, has, on sundry occasions since his residence among us, expressed opinions in opposition to the institution of domestic slavery, and also in opposition to the constitutional right of the southern people to carry their slaves into the Territories belonging to the United States, and also in opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law, and, by his own admissions before this meeting, admits the belief that said Law is not only in violation of the Constitution of the United States, but also of the law of God—and whereas, said Hayden confesses himself to be a "Higher Law" man in the sense in which it is regarded as applicable to the said Fugitive Slave Law; and whereas, we, a portion of the citizens of Gadsden County, in public meeting assembled, after having given said Hayden due notice of said assemblage, hereby express the belief that the toleration of such sentiments as the above is highly detrimental to the interests of this community; and whereas, it is the duty of every slaveholding community to protect themselves against the danger of such opinions by prohibiting those entertaining them from coming and remaining in their midst;

"Therefore, be it resolved, That a committee of three be appointed by the chairman to notify said Hayden of the action of the meeting, and that said committee be charged with the further duty of carrying out the foregoing sentiment by requiring said Hayden to leave this community at the expiration of such time as said committee may deem expedient and proper.

"Passed by the meeting, and the Chairman appointed the committee under the foregoing Resolution.

"DR. J. M. W. DAVIDSON,
W. S. GREGORY,
WM. M. ICTUR.

"The committee asked instructions of the meeting as to the time within which they should execute their duty, and they were allowed seven days.

"Wednesday, Sept. 14, 1855."

Now, here is the offence; and we wish to call to it the particular attention of the reader. It does not charge that Mr. Hayden had instigated insubordination; that he had helped the slave to escape; or that he had, in any way, interfered with the relations of slavery. The report only charges that he held *certain opinions* which could not be tolerated in a slave community; that he believed the slaveholder had no constitutional right to carry his slaves into a Free State; that the Fugitive Slave law was not in accordance with the great fundamental law of the Constitution; and that he held to the supremacy of the "higher law" of God over Kings and Governors and Courts. This is the freedom for *white men* in a slaveholding State. His opinions must square exactly with the Slave Power, or the place will be made too hot for him. Mr. Hayden was doing a prosperous business, and had warm friends in Gadsden County; but the interests of slavery were to be considered above business or private friendships, and in seven days he was obliged to leave. How does such a despotism differ from that of Austria or Russia? Where is the boasted toleration of America? What can we say to those nations who dog American citizens with the police, and lock them in prison because they read the Bible? What shall we say hereafter of the "land of the free and the home of the brave"?

U. G. R.

ANOTHER STAMPEDE.—The Richmond *Whig* states that *eleven* slaves ran away from their owners in that city on Saturday night last. Seven of the eleven belonged to Mrs. Susan L. Hatcher.

A FUGITIVE CASE.—Quite an excitement was caused in the lower part of the city on Monday, by an attempt to capture an alleged female fugitive from slavery. The woman is a very light and good-looking mulatto. The claimant alleged that she escaped from him about a year ago. Her friends say that she has been living at least five years in Cincinnati, and can prove that she is a free woman. While the claimant was put on the wrong scent, the woman was carried to parts unknown; after which the excitement subsided.—*Cincinnati Columbian, 21st ult.*

THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD.—*A Good Business.*—We understand that the train on this road arrived yesterday with sixteen passengers, all in good condition. The number which took the cars at starting was twenty-one. Five of them, however, stopped at way stations. We were glad to learn that the Underground Road is doing a large and safe business. It carries, in the course of a twelvemonth, large numbers from slavery to freedom, from oppression to liberty. Those who arrived here yesterday have been furnished with through tickets. All pursuit of them by slaveholders or sympathizers will be unavailing. They are beyond the reach of further oppression.—*New Bedford Standard, 23d ult.*

RUNAWAY SLAVES RECAPTURED—ARREST OF A SEA CAPTAIN AND MATE.—*The Norfolk* (Va.) *Herald* of the 24th ult. has the following:

"Early yesterday morning we received information that a schooner had been driven ashore in Princess Anne County with fugitive slaves on board, and shortly after we had the satisfaction of seeing the captain and mate of the schooner, who had been brought up to this city and lodged in jail for safe keeping. It appears that the schooner Mary Ann Elizabeth, of Baltimore, commanded by Wm. Lambden, of Wilmington, Del., assisted by Benj. Collins, of Port Norris, N. J., as mate, left this port on Wednesday last, bound for Philadelphia. During the gale of that night the vessel was driven ashore about five miles from Cape Henry, with the loss of some of her sails and rigging, and in the morning it was discovered that she had on board several negroes, whose owners were known to reside in this city. The captain had in his possession $125, which the negroes said they had paid him for their passage to Philadelphia. The captain, however, says that the slaves were on board without his knowledge; that he went forward on Wednesday evening and discovered a chip under the forecastle hatch; that he raised the hatch and discovered the slaves stowed away in the forecastle; that he called the mate's attention to the fact, who was as much astonished as himself; that the money was then taken from the negroes and the schooner put about for Norfolk, but owing to the gale of wind blowing at the time it was found impracticable, and that it was then determined to run the schooner ashore, which was accordingly done. It is hardly probable, however, that two men should undertake to navigate a schooner to Philadelphia, and still less so that five negroes should have taken possession of the forecastle, without the knowledge of either captain or mate. The probability is, that if the severe gale of Wednesday night had not occurred, nothing more would have been heard of the slaves, and we do most earnestly hope that when this case comes up for trial some clue may be obtained which will lead to the discovery of the president, directors and agents of the Underground Railroad from Norfolk. The slaves—two men, two women and one child—are still in safe keeping in Princess Anne County, and belong, as we learn, to Messrs. Duncan Robertson, C. H. Shield and Mrs. Shepherd."

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1855.

AFTER THE BATTLE.

Now that time enough has elapsed since the political battle which has been fighting all over the Free States to allow the smoke to clear away, and the numbers of dead, wounded and missing to be counted up, it may not be amiss to take a look at the state of the battle-field and the condition and prospects of the belligerent powers. We are particularly well qualified for the office by our position on the heights above, as spectators of the fight—not uninterested ones, indeed, but impartial. We could not take an active part in the engagement because we could not but discern that both armies, though apparently arrayed against each other, and really so in the intendment and belief of many of the champions, were in reality both of them in league with the Common Enemy of the Free States and of Humanity. That those with whom we personally felt the strongest sympathy and a sincere respect for their motives and purposes, though nominally in arms against the Slave Despotism for some of its outrageous excesses, were thus really acknowledging its sovereignty *de facto* and strengthening its hands at the very time they were in apparent conflict with it. We do not believe in these tactics. When we go to war, we shall not only count the cost, but we shall make sure that we are not fighting on the enemy's side. We shall not enter upon our political campaign against Slavery by swearing allegiance to it, nor carry it on under cover of zealous love of that Alliance with it, which alone gives it the breath of life.

We are sometimes asked what we Disunionists expect to do. We will answer we have always expected to do just what we have done. We have made it plain to all Slaveholders and to all Non-Slaveholders, who are not eager to shut their eyes to the fact, that Slavery and the Union are one and indivisible. If earnest disclaimers and loud asseverations could have saved the Republican party from the ignominy of being Disunionists, they would have escaped scot-free. But the Anti-Slavery and Pro-Slavery men knew better than they, sincere as many of them unquestionably were, and would accept no words to offset actions. They knew instinctively that whatever word is uttered in earnest against Slavery is a counter-spell against the charm by which it holds its life; that every blow aimed at the remotest extremity of the Body Politic of Slavery strikes straight at the common heart of the Nation which sends the life-blood to feed the polypus that is consuming it as well as the organisms of health and strength. Instinct *is* a great matter, and it has told the friends of Slavery the truth. The Union has now become another word for Slavery, and Disunion and Anti-Slavery are perfectly synonymous terms in the mouths of the pro-slavery world. When men vapour about the Union and the Constitution, and pledge themselves to maintain them intact, everybody, that is not a fool, knows that it is an engagement to maintain those clauses and compromises which make the North the bondmaid of the South. Now, this is no small thing that we have done. We have made it clear that there is no such thing as serving two masters—that Christ and Belial are natural and eternal antagonisms—and that the followers of Belial, at least, understand perfectly well that whoever gathereth not with them scattereth abroad. Politicians who are at all infected with Anti-Slavery cannot avoid the brand of Disunionism, let them resist ever so much, and they will do well to consider whether there is any other strong ground for them to take up, if they really wish their blows should tell.

The Republican party has met with a defeat. That is hardly denied by any one. And yet that party had absorbed into itself all that was best of the two great parties, besides assimilating the scattered remains of the Free Soil party. Their platform was built as carefully as hands could make it. Its objects were such only as many of its loudest defamers and fiercest opponents had pledged themselves to promote not much more than a year ago. It did not propose to touch Slavery in the Slave States. It did not demand a revision of the Constitution for the purpose of eliminating the Slavery Clauses. It did not commit itself to the Repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law or to the disturbance of the *status quo* of Slavery at all. All that it proposed to itself was to prevent Slavery from taking possession of territory which it had, by a compromise issuing from itself, agreed should be kept sacred to Free Labour. A more homœopathic dose of Anti-Slavery could hardly be offered to a patient so sick from the crown of the head to the soles of the feet. But infinitesimal as was the infusion, the gorge of the Nation rose against it and rejected it with loathing. Here was a ground on which it seemed as if all the Decency of the country could rally—on which, indeed, almost all of it did rally—and yet they could not hold it against the armies of the aliens that came up to the assault. Now, why was this? Is it a symptom of life or of death? Is it food for hope or for despair? Has the great and decisive battle been fought, and is Slavery indeed the exulting victor that it seems?

For our own part, we look upon the defeat of the Republican party as being as much a part of the necessary course of the Anti-Slavery Revolution as its gathering was. It could not be but such a party should arise about this time. Where two perfectly opposite and thoroughly hostile ideas, such as Slavery and Freedom, exist in the same country, collision and strife is inevitable. It does not come from the direct interposition of Heaven, but from the nature of things and the regular course of providence. It is by such discords that peace is at last worked out. Politics being the first shape that any division of opinions takes in this land of ballot-worship, it was inevitable that these ideas should crystallize into parties. The one idea having fully possessed itself, from the beginning, of the old organizations, it was necessary that the other should take unto itself a like shape. This came along naturally in the course of events. So did its defeat. It was not strong enough to encounter a veteran and wily foe. Slavery had grown up to giant stature, and had sucked the life out of the nation that it might exult in strength—and this for long years. What could an antagonist yet in the gristle of its youth, without experience and without discipline, do against such an opponent? And, especially, when it chose to encumber itself with the very armour which formed the strength and defence of the adversary? Defeat was inevitable, but it does not follow that it will be eternal. That the Republican party, under that name and with its present organizations, will ever rally into effectual life again, or not, we cannot say. Nor is it material. Whatever of real life it ever had is not killed out. It must reappear in some other form of political existence and form a part of a fresh experiment. We can only hope that its members will learn wisdom from defeat and see that victory is not to be gained by such strategy as that in which they trusted.

As to what the Disunion Abolitionists mean to do, it is precisely what they have been doing, the results of which they see on all sides and rejoice. They will go on preparing the way of the next party that is to take the field against Slavery, as they have prepared that of all that have gone before. We shall continue to act on the mind, heart and conscience of the people, showing them the horrors of Slavery and the guilty part they take in maintaining them, and pointing out the only way of escape. We shall demonstrate to all willing to be taught that the whole frame of government is so infected with Slavery, that Slavery is so interwoven with the frame of our National Institutions, that they must stand or fall together. We shall prove, from history and from philosophy and religion, that the evil principle must prevail against the good as long as the attempt is made to unite them for a common benefit—that there is no deliverance for the Slave, and no safety or self-respect for ourselves, as long as we consent to make a part in this Conspiracy against God and Man. We shall show how safe, how easy, how blessed to bond and free will be this outward Revolution, as soon as the minds of the people are persuaded and their hearts converted—before which time of preparation, it cannot be fulfilled. And in due process of time the leaven of the Abolitionists, which has so often burst out in sudden and transient fermentations, will have leavened the lump sufficiently for the ends of health and strength. Then a true Republican party will arise, which will refuse to have alliance with Despotism, which will demand the reconstruction of the Government, so as to save themselves from the guilt of maintaining Slavery, and the Slaves from the crushing weight of the united nation. When such a party is ready to take the field, the Disunionists will not be found wanting to help put the finishing hand to their work.

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

THE Twentieth Annual Fair of Pennsylvania will open on WEDNESDAY EVENING, December 12th, in the Assembly Buildings, corner of Tenth and Chestnut streets, Philadelphia. The Fair will continue during the remainder of the week. Admission, 25 cents. Season Tickets, 50 cents.

Contributions to the Fair are still requested of all the friends of the cause, in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, who have not yet made their donations. These contributions, whether in money or merchantable commodities, will be very acceptable, and may be sent, at any time, to the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Office, No. 31 North Fifth street, or to the Large Saloon of the Assembly Buildings on the morning of the 12th instant.

The Sale will open at 6 o'clock in the evening. The Committee of Arrangements feel assured that the collection of useful and fancy articles will not disappoint the expectations of purchasers, and that, among the great variety, visiters will be able to gratify their respective tastes in the selection of Christmas and New Year's presents.

The BOOK TABLE will, this year, be an unusually attractive one. Besides new and choice Books, it will be furnished with Pictures, Portfolios, Cabas, Porte-Monnaies, an assortment of Stationery, and some beautiful articles of China, Glass, Bisquet, and Parian-ware. Among the Books will be two which are now in press and which are to be published by the Committee of Arrangements for the Fair. One of these is a brief poem, entitled "THE SLAVE MOTHER"; a thrilling story, eloquently told, and its incidents facts of recent occurrence. The other, "AUNT JUDY'S STORY, a Tale from Real Life," will be an especial attraction to our young friends, while those of maturer years will find it worthy of their perusal. It is another illustration of the deep wrongs constantly inflicted by American Slavery on its millions of victims; and its style and moral tone are such as to render it pleasant and instructive reading for children. The "Narrative of Facts in the case of Passmore Williamson," recently published by the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, will also be found on this Table.

On the tastefully ornamented Tables, furnished by the numerous Sewing Circles in the country and city, will be found various articles of Ladies' and Children's clothing, of Silk, Woolen, Linen and Cotton fabrics. Aprons, Hoods, Scarfs, Nubias, Wrappers, Sacks, Tunics, Slippers, etc., etc. Embroidery of various kinds. In this department will be a large and beautiful piece of worsted embroidery, the work of Harriet Martineau.

The TOY TABLE will be plentifully supplied with treasures for its little patrons.

The profits of the fair are appropriated to the printing of anti-slavery newspapers and tracts, to the support of lectures, and to similar measures whereby the conscience of this nation may be roused to a full sense of its sin of slaveholding, and its heart may be moved to repentance. The Anti-Slavery Society, of which the Fair is one of many departments of labour, believing that the North is as deeply guilty concerning its enslaved brother as is the South, find their field of action immediately around them, and they constantly seek to awaken in the community this conviction of personal responsibility and duty. While willingly and gratefully labouring for the emancipation of the slaves in their land, they feel assured that these millions of bondmen have the right to demand, in the name of humanity, the same aid from others, and therefore do they appeal in behalf of these oppressed and helpless ones to the philanthropists, the patriots, and the Christians around them, to put their hands to this work.

In inviting the friends of the cause, and the public generally, to visit the Fair, the Committee feel that they are but asking for an outlay of money in this direction, rather than another. By selecting your holiday presents at the Tables of the Bazaar, by purchasing here many articles of household use and ornament, which you will buy somewhere during the next six months, you may greatly aid a benevolent enterprise without an oulay of an extra dollar. With full confidence in the liberality of the community which has heretofore aided them in the consummation of their arduous labours for the Fair, the Committee, once more, present their annual request.

M. G.

P. S. Among the attractions of this Fair, it is expected that there will be eloquent speaking, on one or two evenings, in the Saloon. The Committee cannot yet announce the names of the speakers. They will be announced in the daily papers of Philadelphia.

KANE AND WILLIAMSON.

To the Editors of The Standard.

I HAVE seen, in THE STANDARD of last week, the article signed "M." in reply to one in the *Liberator* of Nov. 9th, written by myself. I am gratified to be corrected as to any facts in regard to the position occupied by Mr. Williamson, and regret that I should have, in any manner, misrepresented them, to his disadvantage. In giving them, I was governed by Judge Kane's statement of them (in his final opinion, given Oct. 12th), and by Mr. Williamson's *apparent* acquiescence in its truth. That statement is this:

"In the case of Mr. Williamson, the commitment is for a refusal to answer; that is to say, to make a full and lawful answer to the writ of habeas corpus—an answer setting forth all the facts within his knowledge, which are necessary to a decision by the Court, 'whether he had not power to produce the negroes, and control those in whose custody they were.' * * * *

"His duty, then [at the issuing of the writ], as now, was and is, to bring in the bodies; or, if they had passed beyond his control, to declare, under oath or affirmation, so far as he knew, what had become of them; and from this duty, or from the constraint that seeks to enforce it, there can be no escape."

Such were the facts, *according to Kane's statement of them.* Mr. Williamson afterwards *apparently* admitted the truth of this statement, by not denying it, and by presenting a petition, corresponding, in form, to that idea.

These are the principal grounds on which the article in the *Liberator* was written. If there be any error in them, it will be admitted, I think, that the fault was not on my part.

"M." now says that "Mr. Williamson never took any such ground" as "that he could give no information concerning the negroes, &c., *and that he would answer no further questions concerning them.* * * On the contrary, he repeatedly declared himself willing, at any time, to answer any interrogatories the Judge might put to him."

If this be so, as I trust it is, I am certainly very glad of it, both for the honour of Mr. Williamson and for the disgrace of Judge Kane. In this view of the case, Mr. Williamson has been consistent with himself throughout, on this point, *and has not* (as my article in the *Liberator* represented) *retreated from any position he had taken.* On the contrary, Judge Kane has trumped up a fictitious case, in order to make an excuse for liberating his prisoner.

I hope that this is all so; but if it be, the public should be set right in regard to it, for the record (as made up by Kane) has, no doubt, had the effect to mislead others, as it did me.

I have no disposition to criticise the position of Mr. Williamson, as presented by "M."—that is to say, in regard to his willingness to answer questions. It may, or may not, be such as he or others might choose to take, on full reflection of all the principles involved. But there is no reason for saying that it was taken from any censurable motive. In truth, his motives for taking it were, no doubt, highly honourable to him, to wit, that he had done nothing which he desired to conceal from Judge Kane, or anybody else; and, as the slaves were already safe, he saw no reason for concealment on their account.

"M." is dissatisfied that Mr. Williamson, instead of simply answering, "*I did not seek to produce them, because I verily believed it was entirely impossible,*" did not say further, in substance, "*and if I could have produced them, I would not.*"

But he probably could not say this, with truth, however much he might have desired to say it. At the original issuing of the writ, it is likely he would have produced the bodies, had they been in his custody; because he was *then* so sure of their being legally free, in consequence of their having been *brought* into the State by their master, that he probably had no fear that Kane himself would not so decide, if that fact should be established. But now that he has learned Kane's new notions of law, on this point, he would undoubtedly refuse, as steadfastly as any one else, to produce the bodies in a similar case.

The only point, then, as it seems to me, in which the propriety of Mr. Williamson's conduct can be seriously questioned, is his presenting a petition—and more especially one of such phraseology—for permission to purge himself of the contempt, &c. His counsel doubtless urged that all this was a mere matter of form, involving no real concession on his part. And it probably was so in law. Yet, I think he should not have yielded to this view of the case. The form of petition—if not the fact of petitioning—has evidently had the effect to prejudice his case in the minds of the public, by misleading them as to the facts. By adopting it, he seems to me to have nearly fallen into the trap which Kane had set for him. Besides, considering the sacrifice of personal feeling it must have cost him, it was an enormous condescension for him to make, for the purpose of helping such a villain as Kane out of the difficulty into which he had voluntarily plunged himself.

So much for the matter, as a personal one to Mr. Williamson.

But the new state of facts, as given by "M.," does not at all change the *legal* character of Kane's decision. He has certainly decided (whether he had any facts on which to base his decision or not) that a man who assists fugitive slaves to escape from their masters, in a free State, is liable to be brought before a Judge, and there required either "to bring in the bodies, or, if they have passed beyond his control, to declare, under oath or affirmation, so far as he knows, what has become of them." And, if he refuse to do this, he must go to prison for contempt.

This is Kane's decision. And it was the principal object of the article in the *Liberator* to show that such was his decision. Mr. Williamson's position was stated little or no further than was necessary, in order to prove clearly the legal point that has been adjudged. I sincerely regret if his feelings have been at all wounded. I am sure he will acquit me of any serious blame; and will set the matter down to the account of a little extra martyrdom in a good cause.

S.

FROM THE LECTURING FIELD.

LETTER FROM ANDREW T. FOSS.

MULLICA HILL, N. J., Nov. 25, 1855.

MESSRS. EDITORS: My engagement with the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society will terminate with the annual meeting of the Society. The term of service will be about three and a half months.

This service has been performed under some circumstances of peculiar interest. The affairs of the Kansas Territory might be supposed to appeal with peculiar force to the Pennsylvanians, inasmuch as Gov. Reeder was one of their own citizens, who, though he was a Democrat, and voted for the Nebraska bill, yet found himself incapable of becoming the tool of the Slave Power, for the establishment of slavery in Kansas, even in violation of the avowed principle of the infamous bill, and therefore was, by the Administration, politically beheaded. And thus was added another to the many instances by which the Democratic party have, for the last fifteen years, proclaimed to the world that no member of their body, whatever his talents or his fidelity, or eminent service in promoting party interests in the past, can speak a word for human rights, and stick to it, and politically live. I mean, of course, in the Democratic party.

Another circumstance of thrilling interest has been the imprisonment of Passmore Williamson, for informing a woman, with her two sons, of their right to liberty, under all the decisions of the common law for more than a century past, which decisions have been recognised as the law of the land by the Federal Courts, and by the Courts of Pennsylvania. The efforts which have been made to procure the release of Mr. Williamson—the able arguments of his counsel—the decisions of Judges—the comments of the press—have all appealed to the people as they never have been appealed to before. And beside all this, the occurrence of the State election in the midst of these exciting events, and the triumph of the Democratic party, which gave the sanction of the State to all this perfidy, has made my term of labour one of peculiar interest and responsibility. With industry, and what of ability I possess, I have tried to convince the people that these fearful issues are but the legitimate fruit of slavery, and that while the "evil tree" is permitted to stand, it will ever yield its fruit for the poisoning of the Nation. Oh! when will the American people learn to believe and practice the teachings of Jesus, "Now, therefore, is the axe laid at the root of the tree, and every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire."

I have laboured mostly in Pennsylvania. Here I have found some of the long-tried and truest friends of the slave. There are many men and women in Pennsylvania, little known even to the Abolitionists in the other States, who, for lofty moral purpose, for persistent and untiring zeal and self-sacrificing labour for the good of humanity, have never had their superiors in any age or land. They have freely laid upon the altar of humanity their reputation, their property, their liberty, and their lives. I have also laboured about one week in Delaware, and shall, when I have fulfilled my present engagement, have laboured nearly three weeks in New Jersey. In both of these States I find men and women of "like precious faith" and labour with those of whom I have spoken in Pennsylvania. Till I came among these people, I had no conception of the arduous labour and heavy expense to which they are constantly called. Theirs is a kind of work of which the world cannot know. Living upon the borders of slavery, they are constantly appealed to with the most heart-rending tales of suffering by the fleeing victims of oppression. Their tables, their horses and carriages, their purses and their personal labour, are under constant contribution. The world will never know, unless God himself shall reveal it, what these quiet, self-sacrificing and unknown people are doing for humanity, and from no other motive than the love of the divine work.

The masses of the people here are exceedingly pro-slavery. Many of the wealthy people are owners of plantations and slaves over the line. Those who do not own slaves themselves are connected with the villany through their relations, by blood and marriage. And still another large class are connected with slavery by relatives who are overseers and negro-drivers. And to this we must add the pro-slavery character and influence of the popular religion. Oh! it is the most God-contemning, Christ-crucifying and man-hating religion that ever cursed any age or people. Gorsuch, of Christiana notoriety, was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church *North;* and the fact that four thousand similar scoundrels are now in this Northern Methodist Episcopal Church, and thirty thousand of the groaning victims of slavery in this same Northern Church, and then the added fact of the popularity of this Satanic Church with the other sects, and with the people, tells all the story of the deep depravity of the times. Now, a true Abolitionist, living in this mouth of the burning hell-pit of slavery, must, of necessity, live the life, as he is constantly exposed to die the death, of the martyr. I shall always be glad of my acquaintance with these truly heroic spirits; and if—as I hope is not the case—I have imparted no strength to them, yet well do I know that from them I have received refreshment and strength to battle still with "principalities and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places," by which slavery is upheld, and in the fall of which slavery will perish.

The meetings I have held have been generally well attended, some very largely. The people have seemed to be somewhat awakened, but, exposed as they are to the corrupting influences of a pro-slavery religion and a pro-slavery Constitution and Government, I have little hope of any very extensive reformation as an immediate result. And yet I know that reformation will finally come—that truth and right shall triumph over falsehood and wrong. Till then we will labour and wait.

For God and Humanity, A. T. FOSS.

THE REV. DR. CHEEVER, Pastor of the Church of the Puritans in this city, in his discourse on Thanksgiving day, took occasion to speak of the sinfulness of American slavery and the duty of the Church and of all good citizens to labour for its abolition. We do not learn that he committed himself to what is generally called ultra-abolitionism, but it is some evidence of his fidelity that a portion of his hearers were so offended by the sermon that they abruptly left the house while he was yet speaking. Dr. Cheever has not in former years taken any very earnest or decided position on the slavery question, but his recent contributions to *The Independent* in relation to the Nebraska Fraud and the Kane Villany have encouraged hopes of his future which the character of his preaching on Thanksgiving day has served to confirm.

Called as we so often are to expose the criminal complicity of the greater portion of the American clergy and the scarcely less criminal delinquency of others in respect to slavery, it is a luxury to be able to speak in commendatory terms of any member of the clerical profession, and especially of one so prominent and influential as the Pastor of the Church of the Puritans.

THE PENNSYLVANIA ANNIVERSARY.

THE Anniversary of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, which will be held in Philadelphia on Tuesday and Wednesday next, can hardly fail, we think, to be an occasion of

Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

PECULIARITIES OF PHILADELPHIA AND ITS PEOPLE.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 3, 1855.

MESSRS. EDITORS: I am told THE STANDARD will publish letters relating to other topics than that of slavery; I will therefore take the liberty of giving you some thoughts pertaining to matters having no immediate connection with this subject. I want to say a few words, for the sake of some friends at a distance who read your paper, about Philadelphia.

Philadelphia is a very peculiar city. It covers an immense area of territory. It lies between the two rivers Delaware and Schuylkill, and forms a sort of irregular parallelogram of about two miles in one direction, by five in another. Its population exceeds a third of a million. The town is laid out in squares, with mathematical precision. Its streets in one direction are named after the most euphoniously titled forest trees, and in the other are designated by numerals. It is well supplied with water and gas, which are furnished at moderate rates, and it is kept in a state of admirable cleanliness. Its red-brick side-walks are washed twice a week, and its white marble door-steps and lintels daily.

Philadelphia is a wealthy city; and its wealth is well distributed. Its rich people are not so very rich as is the same class in New York, nor are its poor people so very poor. No one street here presents so many palatial private residences as does your Fifth Avenue, and yet the people of Philadelphia, as a whole, are much better housed than those of New York. A police force of near a thousand men is maintained, who manage to preserve tolerable order. These policemen do not dress in uniform, but wear badges. The city abounds in benevolent institutions, and the number of her buildings devoted to purposes of public charity go far to entitle her to the character implied in her name. Her public school system is admirable; and her educational advantages in general are of the most varied and—for a new country—substantial kind. She has no less than seven Medical Colleges. Four of these are Regular, and the other three are respectively Homœopathic, Eclectic and *Female*. What the system taught in the latter is, I don't know, but believe it is the Regular. These Colleges are attended by near 1,500 students.

Scattered over the city, at measured intervals of course, are five parks, or "squares." These are much too small for a city of such huge dimensions, but several of them are very beautiful. Two of them, Independence Square and Franklin, are peopled with innumerable squirrels (*S. Carolinensis*), which are very tame and afford a great deal of pleasure to all classes of the people. Public sentiment protects these little denizens of the forest; and no one dares to harm them. Even the dogs of the city seem to respect them. The undisturbed existence of these graceful little creatures in the very centre of so vast a population reflects credit on the city, and no one can witness their happy gambols without a feeling of increased respect for its inhabitants. I don't know but they have impressed me more favourably toward the Philadelphians than even their numerous eleemosynary institutions. The latter may be due mainly to the benevolence of a former generation; the credit of the former belongs indubitably to this. The people may be *Philadelphian* by tradition, but this *Philosciurianism* is native in their own hearts. People that know how to treat squirrels aright know what is due to their fellow-men. A man that loves inferior animals can't hate creatures of his own kind.

One of the chief objects of interest to a stranger in Philadelphia is the Water Works at Fairmount. These are remarkable for the simplicity of their machinery, and, at the same time, their completeness as a hydraulic structure. Fairmount itself is one of the sweetest and most picturesque spots imaginable. Not far from the Water Works is Girard College. This is a magnificent edifice of white marble, built by bequest of the wealthy merchant whose name it bears. It is one of the finest specimens of Grecian architecture of modern times. *La Madelaine* is somewhat more imposing from its greater size and higher degree of ornamentation, but the superiority of the Pennsylvania marble to the cream-coloured soapstone of Paris gives the college an air of solidity and classic completeness which the church does not possess. In a line with the college and Fairmount is Laurel Hill. This is the *Pere Lachaise* of the Quaker city. It is situated on the banks of the Schuylkill, and its jutting cliffs and tasteful green slopes—especially in the month of June, when its roses are in bloom—make it one of the most charming places to be buried in that ever was seen. The Philadelphians' ruling passion for white marble shows itself—"strong in death"—in the elegant tablets and chaste monuments which are scattered all through the grounds in rich profusion.

I said Philadelphia was a peculiar city; I may add, her people are a peculiar people. Though but a small proportion of them, numerically, are Friends, the Quaker leaven has leavened the whole lump. The character, customs and social manners of the people generally show its permeating influence. This is not seen more in the unvarying rectangularity of the streets, the absence of steeples on the churches, and the ever-recurring sameness and inartistic plainness of the houses, than in the dress of the people, the style of their conversation, and the manner in which they go about their daily business. They move with a measured pace, never loitering, never in a hurry. They have an accent of their own, and colloquial phrases that are heard in no other part of the country. Their dress differs from that of other cities in some important particulars. I don't now allude to the garb of the regular Friends, which is of course unique, but to the style of dress that obtains among the people generally. Neatness is the grace that the Philadelphians cultivate with most assiduity. This is especially noticeable in the toilet of the ladies. Fashion is followed, but with a submission that is not slavish. Her redundancies are curtailed and her exaggerations kept within bounds. The law of colours is not outraged, and tints are chosen less with regard to brilliancy than to harmonious contrast. There is a class of belles here known as "Gay Quakers," whose attire shows the characteristics I have been describing in a striking manner. These are members of the Society, who live on its outer confines. Their views are liberalized by intercourse with the world, and, while they adhere traditionally to the doctrines in which they have been bred, nevertheless discard the outward peculiarity of appearance and manner which distinguishes their sect from people of all other societies. This class is altogether indigenous to Philadelphia, and is to be found nowhere else in the world. I doubt whether there is to be seen anywhere out of the city of Paris better specimens of the neatly elegant and chastely rich in female attire than are exhibited by these "gay" members of Arch and Cherry Street Meetings.

And as Dress and Beauty seem, from the title of one of Mrs. Oakes Smith's books, to be cognate subjects, I must say here that Philadelphia is peculiar in the beauty of her women. It may be accident—I hardly think it can be—but I have noticed more handsome women, maids and matrons in this city than I have ever seen in any other; and my opportunities for observation have not been limited. Go where you will, into Arch street or Walnut street, to church or to meeting, to market or to the shops—where the salesmen are mostly girls—and you cannot but be struck with the number of comely faces you will meet. Why is this? Philadelphia men are not particularly good-looking; how is it that her women are so handsome? Does the in-forming power of the Glove-maker's doctrine impart a grace to the form as well as a beauty to the spirit of those who receive it? Does obedience to the light within enlarge the facial angle, give brilliancy and depth to the eye, and expression to the whole face, in the same way that it imparts a holy symmetry and just proportion to the moral features of such as habitually practice it? Why not? There are more than the visionary Swedenborg who believe that spirit determines the form of matter, and that the soul gives shape to the body.

Quakerism modifies the etiquette as well as the toilets of the Philadelphians. Have you never, when promenading in Arch street, been saluted by an acquaintance on the other side of the way with a graceful waive of the hand? or accosted more familiarly by some one you know passing near you with a curt "How do?" A friend of mine, who knows these people "like a book," explains the former—the waive of the hand—to be a friendly compromise between the inelegant nod of the Quaker and the forbidden "hat-honour" of the world's people; and the elliptical "How do?" he declares is—from the same motive—an artful dodge of the complimentary personal pronoun. A peculiar people, it must be admitted, are those same Quaker-Philadelphians.

Philadelphia is peculiar in the diversity of her population; or not so much that, either, as in the apparent methodical arrangement of her diversified people. You in New York have all sorts of people, mixed up; here they have all sorts, in lamina or streaks. There is first a streak of Irish, then of German, then of Quaker, then of Fashion, and then a large substratum of Black and Mulatto. Take a stroll on a Sunday morning, and you will see all these varieties assorted and in their holiday best. There; that crowd you have just passed you will have had no difficulty in recognising. Its gait, features and accent, mark it as unmistakably Milesian. Those we are now meeting are of the Teutonic branch of Adam's family. They are a rosy, healthy, happy-looking people, and are going to Dr. Mayer's and Dr. Bebighaus's churches, as a suitable preparation for the generous (and unctuous) dinner that will be ready for them on their return. This streak of russet and brown speaks for itself. Those grave looking elders with rotund fronts and rubicund cheeks are "weighty Friends," and the crowd that follows are Quakers plain, and Quakers gay, from the severest stiff bonnet and a "shad-belly" to the jauntiest feather and frill and the most exquisite black lappelle that ever graced a picture in the "Latest Parisian Fashions." Now, we have crossed Market street and Chestnut, where shops are shut and sidewalks deserted, and have struck upon the fashionable vein that crops out in Walnut street. These elegantly apparrelled people are coming, some from St. Mark's, some from St. Stephen's, and other some from the Chapel of St. Luke's. They look as though the homilies and preaching sat easy on them; don't they? The *dilettant* Dr. Ducachet has too nice a sense of propriety to disturb his fastidious audience by any rude appeals to their consciences, and Mr. Wilmer's brief dissertation on the Church Ritual contained nothing to ruffle the self-complacency of his hearers or disturb their appetites for their Sunday's dinner.

But now we have passed through this vein and have come to another of a different complexion. This is the substratum of Black and Mulatto I before referred to. These well-dressed, fine-looking, properly-behaved people belong to the coloured churches, Baptist, Methodist, Episcopalian and Presbyterian, which are as numerous in proportion as those of the whites. You are struck with their appearance. They have a look of intelligence, an air of refinement and a *tout en semble* of comfort, that you were not expecting to see. You feel your prejudices relenting and your respect involuntarily rising. "I had no idea," you say, "that the negroes of Philadelphia were capable of presenting such an appearance. But your census says you have 30,000 of these people; what are you going to do with them?" Ah, that's a question which will require a longer answer than I have space for in this letter; so my imaginary inquirer must wait till I shall have another opportunity to enlighten him. Till which time I must bid him, and you, gentlemen, respectfully, adieu.

H. OBSERVATOR.

From Our Kansas Correspondent.

LAWRENCE, Nov. 18, 1855.

MESSRS. EDITORS: The "Constitutional Convention" has achieved its mission, and, like the numerous embryo cities of her Territory, Kansas is now "some pumpkins" among the incorporated bodies of the Union. The people are to vote upon the question of the adoption of the Constitution on the 15th of December, and, if adopted, State officers are to be chosen on the third Tuesday of January, 1856. In the meantime, Congress will have settled the question of our admission to the Union; and by March, we shall be in "the full tide of successful experiment" in the art of self-government, according to the opinion of Col. Lane & Co. If we are admitted, then all hail the glorious principle of "Squatter Sovereignty." Nebraska-bill men will walk with erect heads. Their opponents will curse the infatuation of the "sovereign squatters," and mourn in secret places over the result. I see with sorrow that some influential Eastern papers are in favour of this suicidal step. Others will, no doubt, lament the course pursued by us, but will fear to oppose the movement. At the risk of losing my slight reputation as a prophet, allow me, in advance, to condemn this whole movement, as one of the cunningest schemes yet devised by the enemy to secure the preponderance of the Slave Power in the councils of our nation. No matter how anti-slavery our Constitution may be, the danger from its adoption is none the less imminent to the anti-slavery cause. In the first place, who are the chief supporters of this movement? You have already learned that the Pierce dynasty men are its staunch friends and supporters. Col. Lane, the President of the Convention, is known by all to be a pro-slavery man at heart, and to have expressed himself, in public, as having no objections to the introduction of slavery here, if the people wished it. I allude to him merely because he represents a class of men here, and not on account of any personal feelings against him, for I have never had an unpleasant word with him in my life. It is his pro-slavery character that I am opposing. I am prepared to prove that, soon after he came here, he endeavoured to persuade the people to let the anti-slavery cause alone, and to give their suffrages to the Democratic (Hunker) party. Can such a man be trusted with guiding the anti-slavery destinies of a free State? He claims to be the exponent of the Administration, and, I have no doubt, is sustained by Pierce in his efforts to procure the adoption of a State Constitution by the people of Kansas.

You have already seen the fate of the anti-slavery cause in California, notwithstanding the adoption of a Constitution forbidding slavery. It is true that in that Constitution a clause existed leaving it to the Legislature to decide when to enforce the proviso excluding slavery. In *ours*, the Legislature is required to enforce this proviso by *July*, 1857. Our friends say that the Courts can execute the proviso excluding slavery whenever they please, and that the Legislature being obliged to do it as soon as 1857, makes "assurance doubly sure," and they rejoice over our flattering prospects. It is true that, by the Constitution, coloured men are prohibited from voting, but yet, after July 1857, chattel slavery cannot exist. You and I might demur against allowing the pro-slavery wolf even a year and a half to fatten upon his victims; but, allowing that to be the quickest mode of destroying him, the question occurs, will Pierce & Co. favour his destruction? For one, I believe that "Satan cannot cast out Satan," and I do not see how Pierce, with the blood of the slaves so freely sprinkled upon his garments, can become the friend of the slaves. Still, it is true that he may for the sake of hallowing his former course in the eyes of Northern men. The "Nebraska bill" will no longer be refused payment by the Democratic party. It will command 110 per cent., at least. But, much as Pierce desires to redeem this worthless stock at the North, the question is, whether he, as a skilful political financier, will jeopard his Southern speculations, in order to buy up stock now at so great a discount as the Nebraska bill at the North. Remember, the Cabinet possesses nice political scales, as well as commercial ones, and, in my opinion, the Southern funds will prove the heaviest gold in the eyes of the political brokers, when placed in the patent balances against even the *above par* Nebraska bill. That is, let "popular sovereignty" rise to 110 at the North, still it will proportionately sink at the South. Pierce may gain votes at the North if he signs this bill; but, as a matter of course, he will lose them at the South. Can any candid man deny that the South will reject the traitor to their cause that Franklin Pierce will be if he belies his former acts in behalf of the South so much as to sign this bill? Do we suppose that the South will bear this disappointment quietly? Will our proud mistress, whose every behest has been yielded to since she corrupted the North in '85, brook this insult? Not she. Pierce may, in an hour of madness, so earnestly covet the favour of the North as to sign the bill; but, if he does it, the South will spurn him from her arms as harlots always do their lovers when their money is gone. Pierce will have invested his funds at the North, and the South will have no further use for him. When did a Presidential candidate ever displease the South for the sake of courting the favour of the North? It may be that Pierce overestimates the Northern anti-slavery revival, and fears the loss of Northern more than of Southern votes; but if he does, I am mistaken. He also knows that Northern men of sense will never trust him, even if he should sign this bill, and he is likewise aware that Pennsylvania doughfaces and Kaneites will support him, let him do what he will in opposition to the North.

Now, I may be mistaken, but, taking all these things into consideration, I do not see how we can at present gain admission into the Union. But why seek for it at all? O, if men were less ambitious, this question would not need to be asked. If some twenty offices were not to be filled, in my opinion we should never have heard of the present Convention to form a Constitution. Not but there are many honest men in favour of the movement, but its master spirits are nothing but office-seekers. Any candid man must admit, that a *proviso* excluding slavery after July, 1857, in a State Constitution, is no better than an act passed by Congress prohibiting it to-day. Why, then, neglect what we know is an effectual method of excluding slavery for the mere shadow before us?

Yours for Concressional prohibition. C. STEARNS.

Our English Correspondence.

LONDON, Nov. 15, 1855.

To the Editors of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

DEAR SIRS: I have just read the following paragraph in the English Correspondence of *Frederick Douglass's Paper*: "I heard of a death, last night, that I did not expect to hear. The *great* 'North of England and Manchester Anti-Slavery League' (*I really forget all its titles*) is no more. I have not yet learned accurately of what complainant died, nor what its age was, nor how many mourners it had, nor to whom it left its property. Suffice it to say, *malgré* all the flourish of trumpets at its inauguration, it 'sleeps in the shade.'" Did I not possess a slight acquaintance with the odious spirit manifested by some persons towards those who render support to, or sympathy with, "the American Anti-Slavery Society," I should be totally unable to understand how any one professing to be an Abolitionist could pen such a sneering, contemptible paragraph as the one I have just quoted. It is easy to perceive that the writer chuckles over the decease of "the Manchester Anti-Slavery League," as if it had proved itself to be unfit to live, or as if there was such a superabundance of anti-slavery effort in this country as to render its existence unnecessary. It is easy, however, to discover the motives of Frederick Douglass's amiable correspondent. It was hatred to Garrisonianism—pleasure that the friends of "the American Anti-Slavery Society" possess one Society the less in England. Reference is made in the letter to "the flourish of trumpets" at the "inauguration" of "the Anti-Slavery League." The writer probably confounds "the Manchester Anti-Slavery *Union*" with "the North of England *League*," as the former Society (whose Hon. Secretary I was until it exhibited the cloven foot of sectarianism) held a great Inaugural Meeting, while the other Society (whose Hon. Secretary I, also, was until I left Manchester) contented itself with simply issuing an address. The Manchester Anti-Slavery Conference was held under the auspices of "the League," but was not its Inaugural Meeting. Leaving Frederick Douglass's correspondent to indulge to the fullest extent her bitter feelings against the American Anti-Slavery Society, in the congenial companionship of the little knot of bigotry-worshippers in Manchester, or "the Glasgow New Association," I wish to make a few remarks relative to the comparative failure of anti-slavery effort in Manchester. Do not (let me say at the outset), for one moment, suppose that, because "the Anti-Slavery League" is no more, the anti-slavery movement is defunct in that city. Certain am I that, whatever else may happen, the few ladies who have kept the sacred fire burning there for many years will never, as long as life lasts, cease to labour for the slave, and send contributions (be they small or great) to the Boston Bazaar. With them, anti-slavery is something very different from a means of securing an ephemeral notoriety, or of gratifying sectarian malice. With them, it is a just, holy and Christ-like cause—a cause which duty to God, and man, duty to religion, and to the principles of our common nature, commands them to support. Hence, you need not fear treachery, or cowardice, or indolence, on their part.

In a letter which I once received from a lady, whose labours in the anti-slavery cause have made her name a "household word" in the homes of English, as well as American, Abolitionists, there are recorded the following remarks, the truth of which has, in my experience, been remarkably verified. She says: "I feel confident that, according to the principles of human nature—mainly alike in all countries—the progress of the cause in England has to go through precisely the same obstacles that it has encountered in the United States. With you, as with us, men's hearts will fail them with fear of changes. They will, in their turn, act dishonestly, basely, ungentlemanly, and, to divert attention from themselves, they will cry 'infidel' to you, and true men like you." Such, indeed, has been our experience in Manchester, if not in England generally. For opposing the election of a certain American clergyman as the Agent of "the Manchester Anti-Slavery Union," Mr. Thompson and myself were charged with being "infidels." What better proof was needed? Although an uncompromising believer in the Orthodox doctrines of the Christian religion, I consider it an honour to be termed an "infidel" by an evangelical ruffian.

The failure of "the Anti-Slavery League" will be better understood in America if I quote the following passage from its Address (a document which was prepared by Dr. Beard and myself):

"Recognising the American Anti-Slavery Society, of which Mr. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON is President, *not* as the only anti-slavery party in the United States, but as the great, vital organization, in which the hopes of Abolitionists must, for the most part, centre, the League will promote its funds by contributions to the Boston and other Bazaars, feeling the most perfect assurance that its help will be scrupulously employed for the advancement of the cause."

In this paragraph lay the secret of our unpopularity. The great cotton interest, imagining that its prosperity was bound up with the slave system, of course, abstained from assisting us; while the evangelical party (with here and there a singular exception) were horrified by the name of Garrison. Nor is this to be greatly wondered at, when it is remembered that, for years past, that chief among priestly calumniators, the too well known Dr. Campbell, has made the *British Banner* (now the fitting advocate of a bloody and iniquitous war) the vehicle for spreading abroad falsehood and slander respecting the American Abolitionists. True, a large number of Manchester ministers were present at the First of August Conference; but it was with difficulty that half-a-dozen of them could be induced to take part in the proceedings, although the venerable Professor Scott occupied the presidential chair. The anti-slavery history of the majority of these gentlemen terminated with the Conference. Some of them, however, not only rendered the "League" no assistance, but sought to blast its usefulness on account of its connection with "the American Anti-Slavery Society."

A Congregational minister in Manchester, writing to a London brother, alluded to the Conference in the following manner. He said: "With the exception of Mr. Parker, who is too good-natured to say nay to anybody, not one of our number stood committed to the movement, except Mr. Christopherson, of Bowdon, and *he apologized to his brethren for having done so*, at our fraternal meeting on Monday last. He frankly stated that he had made a great mistake, and that had he been at all aware of the Garrisonian nature of the business, he most certainly would have stayed away. *The infidel character of the movement, he said, came fully out in the afternoon.*" Immediately after obtaining a copy of this letter, I sent a note of inquiry to Mr. Christopherson, from whom I received the following jesuitical reply: "I have received your letter of yesterday's date; and not having, to my knowledge, made any statement, *in public*, concerning the Anti-Slavery Conference, I am utterly at a loss to conceive wherein is your right to call upon me for an explanation, especially to do so in the terms of your note." In my next letter (which terminated the correspondence), I told Mr. Christopherson that he was as much responsible for a slander which he had circulated privately as if he had proclaimed it to the world; that I demanded an explanation from him, because I was as much affected by his charge as any other member of the Conference; and that the unworthiness of that charge was only equalled by the meanness which shirked the responsibility of it, under the pretence of its not having been made publicly. At the next fraternal meeting of the Congregational Ministers of the Manchester District, Mr. Christopherson brought the subject forward. The culprit who had written the London letter was discovered and a severe and unanimous reproof was administered to him for his "indiscretion." The same body of ministers, on another occasion, expressed their willingness to co-operate with "the Anti-Slavery League" if it were disassociated from "the American Anti-Slavery Society."

I mention these facts that you may the better understand the difficulties with which "the League" has had to contend. Perhaps, however, some of its professed friends were, in reality, its worst enemies. The ladies were always of one heart, and one mind—they never hesitated as to the duty of pursuing the narrow path. There were members of the other sex, however, who were willing to purchase the support of Christopherson & Co. by omitting all reference to "the American Anti-Slavery Society" in the Address; in other words, by effecting a compromise with the enemy. One of these gentlemen, I know, placed confidence in the scurrilities of Dr. Campbell—that Dr. Campbell who, just before the appearance of one of his last attacks upon "the Garrisonian party," in the *Christian Witness*, admitted to a friend of mine that Mr. Garrison was "one of the excellent of the earth."

I do not know the particulars, but I presume that differences of opinion relative to "the American Anti-Slavery Society" have led to the extinction of "the Anti-Slavery League." Be this as it may, I have arrived at the conclusion that half-a-dozen men and women, who are thoroughly united and who meet in some little "upper chamber," may accomplish more for the slave than any "great" movement of mere anti-slavery professors, who have not received the *true* baptism. Few and feeble though the Radical Abolitionists may be, their numbers will be increased from time to time, by accessions from the ranks of honest and uncompromising Reformers. Men who are inspired by the same motives, aspirations and principles, will surely be attracted towards each other. If this fact had been better understood by us, we should have less dross and more of the precious metal in the anti-slavery movement. But it is never too late to learn wisdom.

There is considerable probability that Mr. George Thompson will re-visit India in the course of a few weeks.

Yours, very truly, F. W. CHESSON.

ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES IN ROCHESTER.

THE friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society in Rochester, realizing the need of more thorough anti-slavery discussion, and a wider dissemination of radical anti-slavery principles, have determined upon a course of lectures for the coming winter, which shall partly supply this need.

It is rather an experiment with us; therefore the course will be a short one; but we have secured the services of persons eminently distinguished for their uncompromising integrity, scholarly attainments and rare eloquence, and trust to be so generously patronized that we shall enlist in the enterprise with still greater confidence another year.

The following persons have responded to our invitation and are set for the following dates:

WENDELL PHILLIPS,*	- - -	Monday, Nov. 26, 1855.
REV. ANTOINETTE L. BROWN,		Tuesday, Dec. 4, "
LUCY STONE BLACKWELL,	-	" Jan. 8, 1856.
CHARLES L. REMOND,	- -	" " 22, "
WM. LLOYD GARRISON,	- -	" Feb. 12, "
REV. THEODORE PARKER,	-	" " 26, "
HUTCHINSON FAMILY (Concert), time not yet designated.		

On behalf of the friends,

AMY POST,
WILLIAM R. HALLOWELL,
CATHARINE A. F. STEBBINS, } Lecture Committee.

*Wendell Phillips, in consequence of failure in railroad communication, was prevented from fulfilling engagements in Detroit and Chicago, and, therefore, found it impossible to reach our city in season for his lecture. He will come later in the season.

CONGRESS.

THE XXXIVth Congress assembled on Monday. In the SENATE, the only business of importance is a resolution, offered by Mr. Hale, calling upon the President for information as to what he has done in response to Gov. Shannon's demand for troops to enforce the laws of the border ruffians in Kansas. The resolution has not yet been acted upon.

The HOUSE has been trying for three days to elect a Speaker, but without success. The Nebraska Democracy support Richardson, of Illinois, giving him from 72 to 74 votes. The opposition is divided between the Know-Nothings *South*, the Know-Nothings *North*, the Republicans, and a small number of anti-Nebraska Democrats. Of the first, Humphrey Marshall, of Kentucky, is the candidate. The second are divided between Campbell of Ohio, Banks of Massachusetts, Fuller of Pa., and Pennington of N. J. The third support Banks. There were three ballotings on Monday, six on Tuesday, and six on Wednesday—the last with the following result: Richardson, Dem., 74; Campbell, Rep. and K. N., 80; Fuller of Pa. (elected as anti-Nebraska, but now trimming his sails for a southern breeze) 19; Banks 8; Marshall 6; Pennington 7; all others 27. It is thought that Banks will finally receive the full anti-Nebraska vote and be elected.

DISGRACEFUL.—R. M. Johnson, a coloured student of one of the physicians of Cleveland, has been refused admission to the Medical College in that city, on account of the colour of his skin. One of the Professors asked him to matriculate, but the threats of Southern and doughface students to leave the institution in case he was admitted caused the Faculty to quail, and his application, after some disgraceful paltering, was denied. The Cleveland *Leader*, the organ of the Republican movement in Northern Ohio, has no word of indignation and rebuke for this shameful deed. Cowed by the vulgar spirit of colourphobia, dominant in the city, it only musters courage enough to say: "In another column will be found the statement of Mr. Johnson. We let him tell his own story, believing that every man, whatever his colour may be, has a right to a hearing." "A right to a hearing," forsooth! Has he not also a right to the direct support of a press which professes to be opposed to slavery and to the proscription of men on account of complexion? If *The Leader* has not the pluck to denounce so conspicuous an act of subserviency right under its nose, it ought never to utter another word against Northern doughfaces.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THE COLOURED PATRIOTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, with Sketches of several Distinguished Coloured Persons: To which is added a brief Survey of the Condition and Prospects of Coloured Americans. By WILLIAM C. NELL. With an Introduction by HARRIET BEECHER STOWE. Pp. 396. Boston: R. F. Wallcut, 21 Cornhill; and sold at the Anti-Slavery Offices in New York and Philadelphia. Price $1 25.

This work is an enlargement—and an improvement as well—of a valuable pamphlet published by Mr. Nell several years ago, and which had gone entirely out of print. It is a record of striking facts, which, as they illustrate the important services rendered by coloured men in the struggles of this nation with the mother country, it has too often been the policy of our white historians to ignore or conceal. Mr. Nell's industry in compiling this volume is equalled only by his modest estimate of the value of his labours. He deserves the thanks of every friend of impartial liberty, and his book should find a place in every anti-slavery household. It is well calculated to put our spurious Christianity and our sham Democracy alike to the blush of shame for the cruel prejudice against the coloured people to which they so insanely cling, and for denying to them the rights and privileges of manhood and dooming them to social proscription and virtual outlawry in a land for whose deliverance from oppression their fathers freely shed their blood.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE, No. 602, opens with an article from *The Edinburgh Review*, entitled "The Fathers of New England," wherein the said fathers are boldly arraigned for those acts of bigotry and persecution which many American writers are in the habit of glossing over with ingeniously constructed apologies. It contains also Part 12 of "Zaidee," and several other articles of no little interest and value. New York: 343 Broadway.

Summary.

A bill has been presented to the Legislature of Tennessee levying a tax of five dollars on every gentleman who wears a moustache, and a fine of five dollars upon bachelors over thirty years of age, for the purpose of raising money to increase the school fund.

A DELICATE INVITATION.—General Cass has been invited by the Kansas State Committee to present their State Constitution to the United States Senate. This will place the old gentleman in a tight place, and he will have an opportunity to exhibit his faith in "squatter sovereignty."

INHUMANE.—We saw, says an exchange, on a cold day recently, in one of our cars, a lady, dressed very warmly in shawl and furs, with a babe of perhaps two years old, dressed only in slip and apron, and a small handkerchief tied around its neck, with arms entirely bare, and looking as red as a boiled lobster. It was observed by a passenger that she was placing the child on the express line for heaven.—*Bost. Bee.*

TREATMENT OF COLOURED FOLKS IN BOSTON.—A wealthy St. Domingo coffee dealer, whose skin was rather dark, essayed to dine last week at one of the Boston restaurants, when the waiter informed him that it was against the rules to entertain coloured persons. A row ensued, which required the interference of the police, but it appears that the gentleman did not succeed in getting his dinner.

"THE HUTCHINSON FAMILY"—says a letter from St. Paul, Minnesota (Nov. 17), to the Hartford *Republican*—"are here—Judson, John and Asa—and sang on Monday evening, though the night was dark and unpleasant, to a crowded house. Their songs gave evident satisfaction, though they laboured under a severe hoarseness, and did not sing so well as usual. They have now gone to recruit themselves with a few days' sporting and exploring down the Canon river."

THE VERY NEWEST GODIVA.—The Newport (Ky.) *News* of Monday says: "We understand that a *lady*, (!!) for a wager of $20, walked one square and back, on Saturday evening, 17th ult., *naked*, without detection; in the event of which she was to have the money. The feat was performed on Main street, Covington, between Fourth and Fifth streets, at no later than a quarter after 10. The night was very dark."

There is a statute in Indiana which prevents the testimony of a negro from being received in the courts. The disability, just now, gives the negroes the monopoly of the carrying trade in liquor in that State. As they cannot be made witnesses, the liquor dealers are not afraid to sell it to them, and they are very generally employed to effect the exchange between the seller and consumer of the prohibited article.

EIGHTEEN SLAVES IN JACKSONVILLE, ILLINOIS—TROUBLE ABOUT THEM.—Mr. William Kirk, a citizen and slaveholder of Louisiana, not long since came up to Jacksonville, Illinois, bringing with him eighteen slaves, for the purpose, he says, of allowing them to visit their relatives there, and of receiving an education. They are to be free at his death. The citizens of Jacksonville, though of anti-slavery proclivities, don't like the idea of having negroes in their midst, it would seem, for they expressed considerable dissatisfaction at the conduct of Mr. Kirk, who, they thought, had brought his slaves to their town for the purpose of turning them loose on society, without any means of support, to shift for themselves, and, eventually to become a burden and nuisance to the community. The owner of the slaves seems, however, to be actuated by better motives. He has provided his negroes with wagons, teams and outfits necessary to enable them to secure a competent livelihood, and pledges himself to remove them whenever they become troublesome. He has not set them free yet, nor do they desire their freedom; for if they did, they could easily obtain it.

SOUTH CAROLINA AND MASSACHUSETTS.—The telegraph informs us that the Governor of South Carolina is indignant at the passage of the law known as the Personal Liberty Bill, by the Massachusetts Legislature of last winter. We suppose that there will be plenty of newspapers and politicians who will advise the next Legislature that it is best to repeal that law, so that South Carolina may be pacified, and receive us back to favour again.—*Bost. Tel.*

A Congregational Home Missionary at Leavenworth, Kansas, entrusted letters for the post-office to a slaveholding neighbour, who carried them to the office of the pro-slavery paper, where they were opened and read in search of anti-slavery sentiments. The missionary afterwards upbraided the slaveholder, when the latter knocked him down, bruised him severely, and was attempting to gouge out his eyes, when some neighbours came to the rescue and saved him from so great a calamity. The wounded missionary writes: "We live without arms, and our door is only fastened by a small wooden pin, but the Lord is on our side—I will not fear."

TEN DOLLARS A POUND!—This is the selling price of choice specimens of human flesh in Virginia. We quote the market report of the *Washington Union*:

"LARGE SALE OF NEGROES.—At Charlotte C. H., on Monday of last week, fifty negroes belonging to the estate of the late John M. Thomas were sold at public auction for the aggregate sum of $25,400. Some other negroes were sold at the same time, *and one or two boys, weighing 95 pounds, brought about $950 each.*"

There are no recent quotations from the Cannibal Islands. But these Virginia prices must breed a famine among the human flesh-eaters, if the *Washington Union* circulates among them.—*Springfield (Mass.) Republican.*

HORACE ON THE BEARD.—Horace Greeley, in a late lecture, is reported to have spoken thus on shaving:

"We would say to Young America in counting-houses and workshops, never touch your beards with a razor. Despise the dictates of fashion, and let the hair of the face grow silken and soft, only trimmed by the scissors. Your health would be improved; your teeth will be sounder; your liability to colds and bronchial and lung affections will be sensibly diminished; your convenience will be daily consulted; your manly beauty—no despicable thing, as it is the type of what ought to be the dower of every man—will be indefinitely increased, and the true and poetical contrast to feminine loveliness be once more secured, which is impossible under the starved, scraped, wiry caricatures which shavelings now present."

The "Hard Shell Baptists" are a well known sect in the South and South-West. They are not related, that we know of, to the Hard Shell Democrats in New York, though their *Christian* name is the same. They go dead against all Bible, temperance, and education societies; hate missions to the heathen, and all modern schemes for converting the rest of mankind. Of course they are opposed to learning, and speak as they are suddenly moved. A Georgia correspondent relates the following of one of their preachers: "Two of them were in the same pulpit together. While one was preaching he happened to say, 'When Abraham built the ark.' The one behind him strove to correct his blunder by saying out aloud, '*Abraham warn't there.*' But the speaker pushed on, heedless of the interruption, and only took occasion shortly to repeat, still more decidedly, 'I say, when Abraham built the ark.' 'And I say,' cried out the other, '*Abraham warn't there.*' The Hard Shell was too hard to be beaten down in this way, and, addressing the people, exclaimed with great indignation, 'I say Abraham was *thar*, or *thar* ABOUTS!'"

UTAH TO BE A SLAVE STATE.—I met a prominent citizen of Salt Lake City when at Weston. His name is Williams. He is the principal merchant of the Latter Day Saints, and also, I believe, one of the twelve unholy apostles. I inferred from his conversation that the name of his Deity is Gum. He asseverated by Gum. When he wished to be solemnly emphatic, he declared "By Gum!" and then would make his statement; I am inclined to believe that the Gum he invoked is Gum Arabic. But I will refer to this curious problem on another occasion.

I heard him say that when Utah applied for admission into the Union, she would seek to be enrolled as a slave State. He said that he owned a slave; that all the apostles did; and that polygamist, Brigham Young, owns several negroes. This statement, although at variance with previous accounts from Utah, is undoubtedly true. I submit it as a text for political essays and Buncombe speeches.

He told me that the accounts of famine in Utah had been enormously exaggerated; and that there is corn enough in their Egypt yet for two years to come.—*Kansas Correspondent of St. Louis Democrat.*

TAKING VENGEANCE.—At Memphis (Tenn.), some months ago, Mary Moriarty, an Irish servant girl, attacked with a dagger, and slew on the spot, John Sheenan, her seducer. Sheenan had insidiously and basely insinuated himself into the confidence of his victim, destroyed her virtue and blasted her hopes under promise of marriage, and then brutally forsaken her. She sought him and reminded him of his solemn promise; she besought him by every consideration of honour to himself and justice to her to repair the great wrong done her as far as lay in his power, by making her his wife, as he had promised. The seducer scornfully rejected the proposal, and added insult to injury by taunting her with her shame. She could not endure this. She went home, armed herself with a dagger, sought her destroyer again, sheathed the glittering weapon in his bosom, and then drawing it forth, reeking with retribution, brandished it aloft in fierce exultation over the bloody deed. She made no concealment of the act, did not seek to palliate it by the least denial of the deadly intent, but justified it on the ground of the terrible provocation that incited her to the deed. She was tried for murder, and the jury, after a consultation of only five minutes, returned a verdict of not guilty.

"WHAR DID YE COME FROM?"—This question occasionally suggests itself to new comers in Texas on meeting with certain tattooed Africans, who bear upon their faces the lines of beauty traced by fish bones in the jungles of Africa. The comparatively young look of some of these sable sons of the third continent occasionally leads to surmises that somebody has violated the laws of the United States or the former Republic of Texas, declaring the African slave trade to be piracy. Such a suspicion is unjust, so far as we are informed. While Texas was a part of Mexico, these strange people are said to have dropped down on the coast occasionally in a somewhat mysterious way, like frogs in a shower. No statistics, however, were preserved previous to 1835. In that year it is shrewdly suspected that the American schooner Shenandoah landed 183, and the schooner Harriet 40 African negroes from Cuba, at the mouth of the San Bernard. The next year it is surmised that an unknown schooner landed 40 somewhere between Velasco and Caney, and another vessel 200 at the Sabine; the latter being carried into Louisiana. All this was amid the confusion of the Texas revolution. There was a suspicion that 41 others were landed in the neighbourhood of the Brazos, in the winter of 1837-38, but this needs confirmation.—*Galveston (Texas) Civilian.*

REV. M. C. BRIGGS.—This gentleman, formerly of this city, but now of California, came very near tasting the lash of Judge Lynch, a few weeks since, at Stockton. It seems that in a temperance lecture he uttered some very unpalatable truths, which gave great offence to the *Argus*, a paper published in Stockton. In a subsequent lecture on "Americanism," Mr. B. alluded to the *Argus*, and to a certain class of politicians, in not very complimentary terms. These lectures were stigmatized as Abolition harangues, a mob of thirty persons was organized, and the abode of Mr. Briggs surrounded. The chivalric ruffians commanded Mr. B. to come forth, that they might flog him. This he very properly refused to do. Several gentlemen then came up and sided with Mr. Briggs, whereupon his enemies dispersed. The people of Stockton took the matter up, and there has been considerable excitement. "The question," says the *California Christian Advocate*, is, "shall we be free? It concerns not the slavery of the black, but of the white race; not of men elsewhere, but of you and me in this free State. It is not a question of legal restraint, but of mob violence to put down the liberty of speech and the right of private judgment. How shall it be decided? This has all grown out of the effort, so far as we can see it, of the rummies to destroy the influence of temperance men in the State, and they deserved all they got. We hope Mr. B. will h

Miscellaneous Department.

THE GOVERNESS.

Sorrily, sadly, walking along,
Little and evidently not very strong;
Gentle and timid, with a blush on her cheek,
The governess passes modest and meek.

Quiet and ladylike, pleasant her mien,
Her heart, like her habit-shirt, beautifully clean.
Kneeling down by her apron, young children to her
Read the gospels of Jesus and say the Lord's prayer.

Young was the maiden when her father died—
Her lover was faithless and fled from her side—
She entered the world half blinded with tears,
Her heart full of love and her soul full of fears.

Coldly compassionate, terribly cold,
Were even the sensible; even the old
Strictly correct and in every way right,
Only too much so, and over polite.

For a very small salary she must wear satin,
Teach French and English, and music and Latin,
And other accomplishments really bewildering—
Stately, and matronly—plagued with the children.

Lord Brougham is clever, and so is Lord Russell;
To see the Lord Mayor, how the people will bustle—
If the governess knows only half that's expected,
She beats all the lords, the Lord Mayor not excepted.

A little young woman, who hems, darns, and sews,
Is supposed to know more than a Lord Bishop knows—
Better by far to serve tag, rag, and bobtail,
Than by teaching and preaching overbalance the topsail.

Poor little girl, her brain will be drunken,
Her face will get thin, and her eyes become sunken.
Foolish and silly one! why longer stop,
Why not take to the scrubbing brush and to the mop?

Oh! may no lady, whose eyes rest this verse on,
Ever become any person's "young person";
May a spirit from heaven in fire and thunder
Tear the mask from hypocrisy—and shew the face under.

Owen Howell.

HALF A LIFE-TIME AGO.

IN FIVE CHAPTERS. CHAPTER III.

[From Household Words.]

After the stun of the blow came the realization of the consequences. Susan would sit for hours trying patiently to recall and piece together fragments of recollection and consciousness in her brother's mind. She would let him go and pursue some senseless bit of play, and wait until she could catch his eye or his attention again, when she would resume her self-imposed task. Michael complained that she never had a word for him, or a minute of time to spend with him now; but she only said, she must try, while there was yet a chance, to bring back her brother's lost wits. As for marriage in this state of uncertainty, she had no heart to think of it. Then Michael stormed, and absented himself for two or three days; but it was of no use. When he came back, he saw that she had been crying till her eyes were all swollen up, and he gathered from Peggy's scoldings (which she did not spare him) that Susan had eaten nothing since he went away. But she was as inflexible as ever.

"Not just yet. Only not just yet. And don't say again that I do not love you," said she, suddenly hiding herself in his arms.

And so matters went on through August. The crop of oats was gathered in; the wheat-field was not ready as yet, when, one fine day, Michael drove up in a borrowed shandry, and offered to take Willie a ride. His manner, when Susan asked him where he was going to, was rather confused; but the answer was straight and clear enough.

"He had business in Ambleside. He would never lose sight of the lad, and have him back safe and sound before dark." So Susan let him go.

Before night they were at home again: Willie in high delight at a little rattling paper windmill that Michael had bought for him in the street, and striving to imitate this new sound with perpetual buzzings. Michael, too, looked pleased. Susan knew the look, although afterwards she remembered that he had tried to veil it from her, and had assumed a grave appearance of sorrow whenever he caught her eye. He put up his horse; for, although he had three miles further to go, the moon was up—the bonny harvest-moon—and he did not care how late he had to drive on such a road by such a light. After the supper which Susan had prepared for the travellers was over, Peggy went up-stairs to see Willie safe in bed; for he had to have the same care taken of him that a little child of four years old requires.

Michael drew near to Susan.

"Susan," said he, "I took Will to see Dr. Preston, at Kendal. He's the first doctor in the county. I thought it were better for us—for you—to know at once what chance there were for him."

"Well!" said Susan, looking eagerly up. She saw the same strange glance of satisfaction, the same instant change to apparent regret and pain. "What did he say?" said she. "Speak! can't you?"

"He said he would never get better of his weakness."

"Never!"

"No; never. It is a long word, and hard to bear. And there's worse to come, dearest. The doctor thinks he will get worse from year to year. And he said, if he was us—you—he would send him off in time to Lancaster Asylum. They've ways there both of keeping such people in order and making them happy. I only tell you what he said," continued he, seeing the gathering storm in her face.

"There was no harm in his saying it," she replied, with great self-constraint, forcing herself to speak coldly instead of angrily. "Folk is welcome to their opinions."

They sate silent for a minute or two, her breast heaving with suppressed feeling.

"He's counted a very clever man," said Michael, at length.

"He may be. He's none of my clever men, nor am I going to be guided by him, whatever he may think. And I don't thank them that went and took my poor lad to have such harsh notions formed about him. If I'd been there, I could have called out the sense that is in him."

"Well! I'll not say more to-night, Susan. You're not taking it rightly, and I'd best be gone and leave you to think it over. I'll not deny they are hard words to hear, but there's sense in them, as I take it; and I reckon you'll have to come to 'em. Anyhow, it's a bad way of thanking me for my pains, and I don't take it well in you, Susan," said he, getting up, as if offended.

"Michael, I'm beside myself with sorrow. Don't blame me, if I speak sharp. He and me is the only ones, you see. And mother did so charge me to have a care of him! And this is what he's come to, poor lile chap!" She began to cry, and Michael to comfort her with caresses.

"Don't," said she. "It's no use trying to make me forget poor Willie is a natural. I could hate myself for being happy with you, even for just a little minute. Go away, and leave me to face it out."

"And you'll think it over, Susan, and remember what the doctor says?"

"I can't forget it," said she. She meant she could not forget what the doctor had said about the hopelessness of her brother's case; he had referred to the plan of sending Willie away to an asylum, or madhouse, as they were called in that day and place. The idea had been gathering force in Michael's mind for long; he had talked it over with his father, and secretly rejoiced over the possession of the farm and land which would then be his in fact, if not in law, by right of his wife. He had always considered the good penny her father could give her in his catalogue of Susan's charms and attractions. But of late he had grown to esteem her as the heiress of Yew Nook. He, too, should have land like his brother—land to possess, to cultivate, to make profit from, to bequeath. For some time he had wondered that Susan had been too much absorbed in Willie's present, that she never seemed to look forward to his future, state. Michael had long felt the boy to be a trouble; but of late he had absolutely loathed him. His gibbering, his uncouth gestures, his loose shambling gait, all irritated Michael inexpressibly. He did not come near the Yew Nook for a couple of days. He thought that he would leave her time to become anxious to see him and reconciled to his plan. They were strange, lonely days to Susan. They were the first she had spent face to face with the sorrows that had turned her from a girl into a woman, for hitherto Michael had never let twenty-four hours pass by without coming to see her since she had had the fever. Now that he was absent, it seemed as though some cause of irritation was removed from Will, who was much more gentle and tractable than he had been for many weeks. Susan thought that she observed him making efforts at her bidding, and there was something piteous in the way in which he crept up to her, and looked wistfully in her face, as if asking her to restore him the faculties that he felt to be wanting.

"I never will let thee go, lad. Never! There's no kuowing where they would take thee to, or what they would do with thee. As they say in the Bible, 'Nought but death shall part thee and me!'"

The country-side was full, in those days, of stories of the brutal treatment offered to the insane; stories that were in fact only too well founded, and the truth of one of which only would have been a sufficient reason for the strong prejudice existing against all such places. Each succeeding hour that Susan passed, alone, or with the poor, affectionate lad for her sole companion, served to deepen her solemn resolution never to part with him. So, when Michael came, he was annoyed and surprised by the calm way in which she spoke, as if following Dr. Preston's advice was utterly and entirely out of the question. He had expected nothing less than a consent, reluctant it might be, but still a consent; and he was extremely irritated. He could have repressed his anger, but he chose rather to give way to it, thinking that he could so best work upon Susan's affection, to gain his point. But, somehow, he over-reached himself; and now he was astonished in his turn at the passion of indignation that she burst into.

"Thou wilt not bide in the same house with him, say'st thou? There's no need for thy biding, as far as I can tell. There's solemn reason why I should bide with my own flesh and blood, and keep to the word I pledged my mother on her death-bed; but, as for thee, there's no tie that I know on to keep thee fra going to America or Botany Bay this very night, if that were thy inclination. will have no more of your threats to make me send my bairn away. If thou marry me, thou'lt help me to take charge of Willie. If thou doesn't choose to marry me on those terms—why! I can snap my fingers at thee, never fear. I'm not so far gone in love as that. But I will not have thee if thou say'st in such a hectoring way that Willie must go out of the house—and the house his own too—before thou'lt set foot in it. Willie bides here, and I bide with him."

"Thou hast may-be spoken a word too much," said Michael, pale with rage. "If I am free, as thou say'st, to go to Canada or Botany Bay, I reckon I'm free to live where I like, and that will not be with a natural who may turn into a madman some day, for aught I know. Choose between him and me, Susy, for I swear to you, you shan't have both."

"I have chosen," said Susan, now perfectly composed and still. "Whatever come of it, I bide with Willie."

"Very well," replied Michael, trying to assume an equal composure of manner. "Then I'll wish you a very good night." He went out of the house-door half-expecting to be called back again; but, instead, he heard a hasty step inside, and a bolt drawn.

"Whew!" said he to himself, "I think I must leave my lady alone for a week or two, and give her time to come to her senses. She'll not find it so easy as she thinks to let me go."

So he went past the kitchen-window in nonchalant style, and was not seen again at Yew Nook for some weeks. How did he pass the time? For the first day or two he was unusually cross with all things and people that came across him. Then wheat-harvest began, and he was busy, and exultant about his heavy crop. Then a man came from a distance to bid for the lease of his farm, which had been offered for sale by his father's advice, as he himself was so soon likely to remove to the Yew Nook. He had so little idea that Susan really would remain firm to her determination, that he at once began to haggle with the man who came after his farm, showed him the crop just got in, and managed skilfully enough to make a good bargain for himself. Of course the bargain had to be sealed at the public-house; and the companions he met with there soon became friends enough to tempt him into Langdale, where again he met with Eleanor Hebthwaite.

How did Susan pass the time? For the first day or so she was too angry and offended to cry. She went about her household duties in a quick, sharp, jerking, yet absent, way; shrinking one moment from Will, overwhelming him with remorseless caresses the next. The third day of Michael's absence she had the relief of a good fit of crying; and after that she grew softer and more tender; she felt how harshly she had spoken to him, and remembered how angry she had been. She made excuses for him. "It was no wonder," she said to herself, "that he had been vexed with her; and no wonder he would not give in, when she had never tried to speak gently or to reason with him. She was to blame, and she would tell him so, and tell him once again all that her mother had bade her be to Willie, and all the horrible stories she had heard about mad-houses, and he would be on her side at once."

And so she watched for his coming, intending to apologize as soon as ever she saw him. She hurried over her household work, in order to sit quietly at her sewing, and hear the first distant sound of his well-known step or whistle. But even the sound of her flying needle seemed too loud—perhaps she was losing an exquisite instant of anticipation; she stopped sewing, and looked longingly out through the geranium leaves, so that her eye might catch the first stir of the branches in the wood-path by which he generally came. Now and then a bird might spring out of the covert; otherwise the leaves were heavily still in the sultry weather of early autumn. Then she would take up her sewing, and with a spasm of resolution she would determine that a certain task should be fulfilled before she would again allow herself the poignant luxury of expectation. Sick at heart was she when the evening closed in, and the chances of that day diminished. Yet she stayed up longer than usual, thinking that if he were coming—if he were only passing along the distant road—the sight of a light in the window might encourage him to make his appearance even at that late hour, while seeing the house all darkened and shut up might quench any such intention.

Very sick and weary at heart, she went to bed; too desolate and despairing to cry, or make any moan. But in the morning hope came afresh. Another day—another chance! And so it went on for weeks. Peggy understood her young mistress's sorrow full well, and respected it by her silence on the subject. Willie seemed happier now that the irritation of Michael's presence was removed; for the poor idiot had a sort of antipathy to Michael, which was a kind of heart's echo to the repugnance in which the latter held him. Altogether, just at this time, Willie was the happiest of the three.

As Susan went into Coniston, to sell her butter, one Saturday, some inconsiderate person told her that they had seen Michael Hurst the night before. I said inconsiderate, but I might rather have said unobservant; for any one who spent half-an-hour in Susan Dixon's company might have seen that she disliked having any reference made to the subjects nearest to her heart, were they joyous or grievous. Now she went a little paler than usual (and she had never recovered her colour since she had had the fever), and tried to keep silence. But an irrepressible pang forced out the question—

"Where?"

"At Thomas Applethwaite's, in Langdale. They had a kind of harvest-home, and he were there among the young folk, and very thick wi' Nelly Hebthwaite, old Thomas's niece. Thou'lt have to look after him a bit, Susan!"

She neither smiled nor sighed. The neighbour who had been speaking to her was struck with the grey stillness of her face. Susan herself felt how well her self-command was obeyed by every little muscle, and said to herself in her Spartan manner, "I can bear it without either wincing or blenching." She went home early, at a tearing, passionate pace, trampling and breaking through all obstacles of briar or bush. Willie was moping in her absence—hanging listlessly on the farm-yard gate to watch for her. When he saw her, he set up one of his strange, inarticulate cries, of which she was now learning the meaning, and came towards her with his loose, galloping run, head and limbs all shaking and wagging with pleasant excitement. Suddenly she turned from him, and burst into tears. She sate down on a stone by the wayside, not a hundred yards from home, and buried her face in her hands, and gave way to a passion of pent-up sorrow; so terrible and full of agony were her low cries, that the idiot stood by her, aghast and silent. All his joy gone for the time, but not, like her joy, turned into ashes. Some thought struck him. Yes! the sight of her woe made him think, great as the exertion was. He ran, and stumbled, and shambled home, buzzing with his lips all the time. She never missed him. He came back in a trice, bringing with him his cherished paper windmill, bought on that fatal day when Michael had taken him into Kendel, to have his doom of perpetual idiotcy pronounced. He thrust it into Susan's face, her hands, her lap, regardless of the injury his frail plaything thereby received. He leapt before her, to think how he had cured all heart-sorrow, buzzing louder than ever. Susan looked up at him, and that glance of her sad eyes sobered him. He began to whimper, he knew not why; and she now, comforted in her turn, tried to soothe him by twirling his windmill. But it was broken; it made no noise; it would not go round. This seemed to afflict Susan more than him. She tried to make it right, although she saw the task was hopeless; and while she did so, the tears rained down unheeded from her bent head on the paper toy.

"It won't do," said she, at last. "It will never do again." And, somehow, she took the accident and her words as omens of the love that was broken, and that she feared could never be pieced together again. She rose up and took Willie's hand, and the two went slowly to the house.

To her surprise, Michael Hurst sate in the house-place. House-place is a sort of better kitchen, where no cookery is done, but which is reserved for state occasions. Michael had gone in there because he was accompanied by his only sister, a woman older than himself, who was well married beyond Keswick, and who now came for the first time to make acquaintance with Susan. Michael had primed his sister with his wishes with regard to Will, and the position in which he stood with Susan; and arriving at Yew Nook in the absence of the latter, he had not scrupled to conduct his sister into the guest-room, as he held Mrs. Gale's worldly position in respect and admiration, and therefore wished her to be favourably impressed with all the signs of property which he was beginning to consider as Susan's greatest charms. He had secretly said to himself that if Eleanor Hebthwaite and Susan Dixon were equal as to riches, he would sooner have Eleanor by far. He had begun to consider Susan as a termagant; and when he thought of his intercourse with her, recollections of her somewhat warm and hasty temper came far more readily to his mind than any remembrance of her generous, loving nature.

And now she stood face to face with him; her eyes tear-swollen, her garments dusty, and here and there torn in consequence of her rapid progress through the bushy bye-paths. She did not make a favourable impression on the well-clad Mrs. Gale, dressed in her best silk-gown, and therefore unusually susceptible to the appearance of another. Nor were her manners gracious or cordial. How could they be, when she remembered what had passed between Michael and herself the last time they met! For her penitence had faded away under the daily disappointment of these last weary weeks.

But she was hospitable in substance. She bade Peggy hurry on the kettle, and busied herself among the tea-cups, thankful that the presence of Mrs. Gale, as a stranger, would prevent the immediate recurrence to the one subject which she felt must be present in Michael's mind as well as in her own. But Mrs. Gale was withheld by no such feelings of delicacy. She had come ready-primed with the case, and had undertaken to bring the girl to reason. There was no time to be lost. It had been prearranged between the brother and sister that he was to stroll out into the farm-yard before his sister introduced the subject; but she was so confident in the success of her arguments, that she must needs have the triumph of a victory as soon as possible; and, accordingly, she brought a hail-storm of good reasons to bear upon Susan's. Susan did not reply for a long time; she was so indignant at this intermeddling of a stranger in the deep family sorrow and shame. Mrs. Gale thought she was gaining the day, and urged her arguments more pitilessly. Even Michael winced for Susan and wondered at her silence. He shrunk out of sight, and into the shadow, hoping that his sister might prevail, but annoyed at the hard way in which she kept putting the ease.

Suddenly Susan turned round from the occupation she had pretended to be engaged in, and said to him in a low voice, which yet not only vibrated itself, but made its hearers vibrate through all their obtuseness:

"Michael Hurst! does your sister speak truth, think you?"

Both women looked at him for his answer; Mrs. Gale without anxiety, for had she not said the very words they had spoken together before; had she not used the very arguments that he himself had suggested? Susan, on the contrary, looked to his answer as settling her doom for life; and in the gloom of her eyes you might have read more despair than hope.

He shuffled his position. He shuffled in his words.

"What is it you ask? My sister has said many things."

"I ask you," said Susan, trying to give a crystal clearness both to her expressions and her pronunciation, "if, knowing as you do how Will is afflicted, you will help me to take that charge of him that I promised my mother on her death-bed that I would do; and which means, that I shall keep him always with me, and do all in my power to make his life happy. If you will do this, I will be your wife; if not, I remain unwed."

"But he may get dangerous; he can be but a trouble; his being here is a pain to you, Susan, not a pleasure."

"I ask you for either yes or no," said she, a little contempt at his evading her question mingling with her tone. He perceived it, and it nettled him.

"And I have told you. I answered your question the last time I was here. I said I would ne'er keep house with an idiot; no more I will. So now you've gotten your answer."

"I have," said Susan. And she sighed deeply.

"Come, now," said Mrs. Gale, encouraged by the sigh; "one would think you don't love Michael, Susan, to be so stubborn in yielding to what I'm sure would be best for the lad."

"Oh! she does not care for me," said Michael. "I don't believe she ever did."

"Don't I? Have not I?" asked Susan, her eyes blazing out fire. She left the room directly, and sent Peggy in to make the tea; and catching at Will, who was lounging about in the kitchen, she went up-stairs with him and bolted herself in, straining the boy to her heart, and keeping almost breathless, lest any noise she made should cause him to break out into the howls and sounds which she could not bear that those below should hear.

A knock at the door. It was Peggy.

"He wants for to see you, to wish you good-bye."

"I cannot come. Oh, Peggy, send them away."

It was her only cry for sympathy; and the old servant understood it. She sent them away, somehow; not politely, as I have been given to understand.

"Good go with them," said Peggy, as she grimly watched their retreating figures. "We're rid of bad rubbish, anyhow." And she turned into the house with the intention of making ready some refreshment for Susan, after her hard day at the market, and her harder evening. But in the kitchen, to which she passed through the empty house-place, making a face of contemptuous dislike at the used tea-cups and fragments of a meal yet standing there, she found Susan, with her sleeves tucked up and her working apron on, busied in preparing to make clap-bread, one of the hardest and hottest domestic tasks of a daleswoman. She looked up, and first met and then avoided Peggy's eye; it was too full of sympathy. Her own cheeks were flushed, and her own eyes were dry and burning.

"Where's the board, Peggy? We need clap-bread; and I reckon I've time to get through with it to-night." Her voice had a sharp dry tone in it, and her motions had a jerking angularity in them.

Peggy said nothing, but fetched her all that she needed. Susan beat her cakes thin with vehement force. As she stooped over them, regardless even of the task in which she seemed so much occupied, she was surprised by a touch on her mouth of something—what she did not see at first. It was a cup of tea, delicately sweetened and cooled, and held to her lips when exactly ready by the faithful old woman. Susan held it off a hand's-breadth, and looked into Peggy's eyes, while her own filled with the strange relief of tears.

"Lass!" said Peggy, solemnly, "thou hast done well. It is not long to bide, and then the end will come."

"But you are very old, Peggy," said Susan, quivering.

"It is but a day sin' I were young," replied Peggy; but she stopped the conversation by again pushing the cup with gentle force to Susan's dry and thirsty lips. When she had drunken she fell again to her labour, Peggy heating the hearth, and doing all that she knew would be required, but never speaking another word. Willie basked close to the fire, enjoying the animal luxury of warmth, for the autumn evenings were beginning to be chilly. It was one o'clock before they thought of going to bed on that memorable night.

MEMORIAL OF THE LATE MR. ESTLIN.

NO. IV.

Mr. Garrison's visit to England, before mentioned, contributed largely to increase Mr. Estlin's acquaintance with the nature and workings of American slavery, and with those open and subtle influences which sustain it. He watched the course of Mr. Garrison with the closest interest. Careful, moderate and exact as Mr. Estlin was, in all his words, and in every step he took forward, it will surprise no one that he did not at once fully understand Mr. Garrison's thoroughly uncompromising spirit, nor sympathize in his bold denunciations of oppression and its abettors, wherever he found them, regardless of the consequences to himself. But all his previous impressions of Mr. Garrison's devotion to principle, and conscientious faithfulness to the cause of the enslaved, were confirmed and thoroughly established by what he saw and learned of him, during this visit to Great Britain. "His high moral character," he writes, "and his unselfish devotion to the great cause, secure for him respect and consideration." It was Mr. Estlin's nature, and equally the result of all his habits, to adopt new views and opinions cautiously, and to take new steps slowly and gradually. But to him belongs, by universal consent, the high praise of never flinching from a principle once seen to be true; nor deserting it for any cause. If his advancement in anti-slavery was slow, as compared with some others, it was, on the other hand, sure. The advance was a real gain, both to himself and others. He never fell back. When he went forward, it was with knowledge of the step he was taking, and that it would bring with it responsibilities and duties, and he was fully prepared to meet them. We dwell on this feature of Mr. Estlin's character with high respect and satisfaction. It gave him a solidity and reliability of character which inspired entire confidence. It made him one of the firmest and most invaluable of friends. Every one knew where to find *him*, and none who sought his counsel or aid failed to be impressed with the highest respect for him as a man of the truest principle. Not blown about by every wind of doctrine, he built on the rock of principle and truth, and kept his place and faith unshaken.

When Mr. Garrison was about to leave England in the autumn of 1846, Mr. Estlin went to Liverpool purposely to bid him farewell, as he had previously gone to London purposely to become acquainted with him, and welcome him to England.

In June, 1847, Mr. Estlin addressed a public letter to the Rev. Edward Tagart, Secretary to the British and Foreign *Unitarian* Association, on "the Present Position of English Unitarians, in reference to the American Slavery Question." As a fair specimen of his writings, as well as of his manner of dealing with the particular question before him, I subjoin an extract or two, regretting that necessary limits do not allow of the republication of the entire letter:

"Let it then be borne in mind, that in a country of professing Christians, three millions of its inhabitants, speaking the same language with the rest of its people, have the Bible sedulously withheld from them; that to teach them to read the Bible is a criminal offence, punishable in some places, on a repetition of the *crime*, by death. Yet great zeal exists in America for the spread of Christianity; large sums are collected by some of the religious bodies, for the conversion of the heathen. Passing by three millions of their countrymen, as if they feared the Gospel would contaminate *them*, the missionaries, laden with Bibles, go forth to distant lands. The Reports of the Board of Foreign Missions state, that their society converts annually about 1,000 heathens to the religion of Christ; while, on the other hand, the birth tables of the slave States show that 70,000 slaves are every year brought into existence. So here are 1,000 annual conversions abroad, and 70,000 human-born, and forced to remain heathens, at home! Moreover, in the Christian communities of the United States, men, women and children are sold to benefit theological seminaries; they are sold to purchase communion-plate; their bodies are sold to procure Bibles, from which their souls are allowed to receive no benefit! The Bible, too, is brought forward to prove the lawfulness and desirableness of this system; while Ecclesiastical Synods have decided that, in the case of slaves, some of its sanctions may be dispensed with, and especially that the marriage vow is not binding.

"With such facts full in their view, it is not to be wondered at that however much American Abolitionists differ among themselves upon the mode of carrying out their anti-slavery purposes, there is one point upon which they are unanimous—namely, that these evils, and all the others connected with slavery, owe their continuance to the religion of the country—that it is the respectability and support given by the ecclesiastical bodies of their land which maintain slavery. Even bishops and ministers are frequently holders of slaves, and all the important lay-offices in the church in the Southern States are often filled by slave-owners. Now, the Abolitionists all agree in maintaining that if, instead of the sanction thus given to this iniquity, ministers of the Gospel were to speak out against the national sin as its enormity demands (instead of being *silent* upon it, or calling upon the Scriptures to furnish arguments in its defence), slavery would immediately terminate.

"Upon those religious bodies in the United States which are most numerous, the greatest responsibility in the matter, of course, rests. These are the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, the Baptists, the Methodists and the Episcopalians; but I regret to believe that the Unitarians, in proportion to their number, are almost as answerable as other sects for the encouragement they afford to the continuance of slavery."

* * * * * * *

"But occasions will occur on which there will be no difficulty as to the appropriate line of our conduct. The American Unitarian Association, at the present moment, furnishes a good illustration of the circumstances under which a sister society in Britain has, in my view, a right to offer remonstrance upon the slavery question, in any official communication that may be held with it. The first name on its List of Officers, as given in the Boston 'Unitarian Annual Register,' for 1847, is that of the Rev. Dr. Dewey; and the last named of the fifteen Vice-Presidents is Dr. Whitridge, of South Carolina. When Dr. Dewey was in England, in 1843, he asserted that he had been for many years a member of a secret society for the abolition of slavery, and considered there was much injustice in its being thought (as was inferred from his mode of arguing on the subject) that he was but lukewarm in the cause of the slave. And yet, on his return to the United States, he published an Address on 'American Morals and Manners,' in which he speaks of the coloured race as a 'despised minority,' separated from the white inhabitants by 'impassable *physical*, if not mental, barriers'—an assertion made with the full knowledge of an almost white race of descendants of negroes at the South, the offspring of iniquity. And then, as a remedy for the evil of having a sixth part of his countrymen with skins differently coloured from his own, he recommends their removal from the soil of their birth (of inhabiting which their right is as strong as Dr. Dewey's) to distant territories!

"Such are the sentiments of the *President* of the American Unitarian Association. And then, with regard to Dr. Whitridge, one of the *Vice-Presidents*, nothing more need be said of him than the simple statement, that he is himself a holder of slaves.

"Now, had these facts been fully known and considered, I can hardly suppose that some of the speakers at our meeting would have taken such low views of the slavery question as their observations indicated."

This letter attracted much attention among English Unitarians, as it could not fail to do, coming from one so judicious and so highly esteemed among his religious associates as Mr. Estlin was.

At about the same time, he writes that "the stir among the Unitarians is likely to do good." One of its objects was to secure such an awakened conscience and feeling in the denomination, "that American Unitarian ministers visiting this country (England) may not expect to altogether escape inquiry into their previous course on the slavery question."

It was early in this year that a letter was sent by "The Friends of Unitarian Christianity in Boston to their Brethren in a Common Faith in England and Scotland," inviting the latter to join in the celebration of the religious anniversaries usually held in Boston in the month of May. The letter was duly received by the Committee in London, but so strong was the feeling which had been awakened among the English Unitarians on the subject of slavery, and the connection of American Unitarians with it, that, at the annual meeting of the Unitarians in London, the first of May, no action was had or proposed in relation to the invitation. Several months elapsing, and no official reply to it having been sent, an independent "Reply" was drawn up in Bristol, extensively circulated through the kingdom, and very unmerously signed by ministers and laymen, and forwarded to this country. To this movement, Mr. Estlin's letter (already quoted from) largely contributed, and in carrying it to a successful termination his aid was freely given. Some among us do not forget the tone of derision and even insolence in which certain leading Unitarians in and around Boston assailed this temperate and manly reply. That it may be seen what it was they so treated, in preference to making any attempt to answer, a few extracts are subjoined:

"To be permitted to share in your celebration would be felt as a high privilege. * * * Boston to us would, indeed, be interesting ground; and the scenes which have been familiar to the living and the dead, with whose names our reverence and love are affectionately intertwined, could not be visited by us with any common emotion."

"Nevertheless, in the exercise of the liberty wherewith the Gospel makes us free—and encouraged by the recollection of the brotherly relation in which you permit us to hope we mutually stand—we feel that we should be frank in the expression of our thoughts, and that it becomes us to state that there are circumstances, as we have been lately informed, which justify our anxiety for some explanation—in order to disembarrass a proposal which, apart from those circumstances, could not be otherwise than acceptable and grateful to our hearts."

"It has been reported, brethren, that among the officers of one of the most important of those Societies in whose operations you have invited us to take a part [the American Unitarian Association] there was at least one individual in the unhappy predicament of being a *holder of slaves*."

Upon this fact the respondents briefly enlarge, entreating attention to it, and close with the hope that "their brethren of the West, with regard to slavery and slaveholders, may be 'above fear and above reproach.'" To make such a temperate and friendly appeal the object of ridicule may be an easy thing for some minds; but even *they* must have sorely felt the strait they were in, before they could consent to the humiliation.

In allusion to the subjects just mentioned, Mr. Estlin wrote, in September, 1847—

"Many thanks for the *Christian Register* and *World*, and the other papers which gave me so lively an impression of the feeling that exists among Unitarians at Boston. The manner in which the *Christian Register* has dealt with my letter to Mr. Tagart (if general among your editors) would lead me to suppose that a different standard of morals, or a different mode of interpreting language, exists amongst you, from what is recognised here. It would not be considered very honourable, nor quite *honest* in an editor—especially of a *religious* paper—to characterize my letter to Mr. T. as containing 'offensive personalities,' and, while professing to omit such improper parts of the communication, to leave out chiefly or only those which speak *respectfully* of America. Perhaps, however, the editor interprets as 'offensive personalities' all reference to persons upon subjects not agreeable to them."

More than *fifteen hundred* signatures were appended to the above-named Reply, but among them were *not* included (with a few honourable exceptions) the names of the "influential" and "leading" ministers of the denomination in Great Britain. When, indeed, was it *ever* known, or where, that this class of men came to the help of any great movement for truth, freedom, justice? "Have any of the rulers believed on him?" was sneeringly asked concerning Jesus; and his cause, renewing itself in every age, meets with the self-same measure of supercilious indifference, or timid neglect, from the wise men and scribes, and teachers of vain philosophies. "Our move," writes Mr. Estlin, "has occasioned much dissatisfaction among the more influential part of the Unitarian body. I suspect *my* fanaticism has surprised some who considered me an old-school *conservative*, and *once* gave me credit for common sense and safe judgment." But, he adds, "If among the ministers we have met with repulse and censure from some, others, with warm hearts and *wise* feeling, have sympathized with and encouraged us." Blessed they who are willing to be of "no reputation" for righteousness sake.

In October, 1847, he says:

"Do not imagine I needed information of Mr. Garrison's tour to the West. I saw too much of him, while here, not to feel a personal interest in him. My daughter, Miss P——, and myself traced his route on our maps, and thought and talked of him on the days when the programme of his proceedings in the *Liberator* enabled us to know where he was."

In *January*, 1848, he says, "As I am now writing, the tables are covered with pictures, &c., preparations making by —— and ——, for *next year's* Boston Bazaar! No day, not many hours in any, pass here in which your cause is not thought of, talked of and worked for."

During the whole struggle in France, and other European countries, against their oppressive governments, Mr. Estlin's mind was deeply interested, and his letters abound in valuable suggestions. From the first, he doubted if France would be able to maintain a republic, or if her people were fitted for it, and expected a return to monarchy there.

In October, 1848, he writes, "We have attacked some 'Free Church of Soctland' deputies, who came to Bristol to ask for money, upon their union with slaveholders, and advised them to 'send back the money.'"

The Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass having been, at about this time, translated into French by Miss Parkes, of Bristol, its publication at Paris was secured by Mr. Estlin, who, with the aid of a few friends, advanced the sum required by the publisher.

The case of Messrs. Drayton and Sayres, imprisoned at Washington for the *crime* of endeavouring to give liberty to seventy victims of American Despotism, deeply interested Mr. Estlin's thoughts and feelings, and he sent a contribution to the fund raised for their aid and defence.

In the autumn of 1848, he attended a public religious meeting at Exeter, Devonshire, and, being invited to speak on the subject of Christian Philanthropy, did so, dwelling especially upon American slavery; after remarking that some of the most eminent of their ministers [in England] had not paid the subject the attention it deserved, and were behind their flocks, he particularly noticed Rev. J. Martineau's opinion that slaveholding was not an "individual sin," that it was "the *misfortune* of the individual, the *crime* of the State." Many an uneducated, simple-minded layman, said Mr. E., could enlighten Mr. Martineau's understanding, and (be hoped) could warm his heart, on this subject, and asked if the slaveholders could wish a better ally.

January, 1849.—"I do not see my way clear to sign the Petition to Parliament, asking for increased duties on slave-grown sugars. I am doubtful how far the principle is a correct one to fetter free-trade, and prevent our large masses of poor people from having cheap sugar, by imposing protective duties for the purpose of opposing slavery in *one direction only*, leaving it uncontrolled in a far wider sphere. I look upon free trade as an instrumentality in upsetting slavery eventually. Still, I throw no obstacles in the way of those who think differently on this matter, or who may be disposed, by *any* view of it, to pay attention to the subject."

This view was afterwards very generally adopted, I believe, not by political economists merely, but by the great proportion of intelligent anti-slavery people throughout the kingdom.

Reference has already been made to Mr. Estlin's religious character and reverential spirit. These were sometimes sorely tried and offended, by articles appearing in the *Liberator*, and, before he fully understood the grounds of freedom, toleration and respect for the convictions of all truth-seeking minds, upon which that paper is conducted, he was disposed at times to censure its editor for the admission of such articles. This was probably the severest test to which his love of freedom, and of the anti-slavery cause, could be put. It nobly stood the trial. Some direct correspondence (I think) took place between him and Mr. Garrison, upon this subject, and he became fully convinced that more and greater evils had resulted, and would continue to result, from *interdicting* freedom of thought and discussion, that could arise from the largest liberty, especially in cases where a conscientious regard for Truth and Right sat at the helm. In January, 1849, alluding to one or two pieces which had then recently appeared in the *Liberator*, he said, "Some of the language in reference to the Deity, lately published in the *Liberator*, is coarse and offensive. Be assured I speak of this in sorrow, not in anger." In October, of the same year, he writes, "The article, 'Kossuth and Jesus,' much interested me. If all the 'infidels' in the world were such as Mr. Garrison, we should at least have a *Christian* world, if not a theological one."

Speaking of a visit made to Bristol at this time, by Mrs. Follen and Miss Cabot, he says, "I went with them to the Blind Asylum, and great was the delight of the girls to *see* and to talk to ladies who had actually sold their basket-work at Boston. Mrs. Follen spoke most pleasantly to them, and left a strong impression on them."

S. M. JR.

THE THREE FISHERMEN.

BY CHARLES KINGSLEY.

I.

Three fishers went sailing out into the West,
Out into the West as the sun went down,
Each thought of the woman who loved him the best,
And the children stood watching them out of the town;
For men must work, and women must weep,
And there's little to earn and many to keep,
Though the harbour-bar be moaning.

II.

Three wives sat up in the lighthouse tower,
And trimmed the lamps as the sun went down,
And they looked at the squall, and they looked at the shower,
And the rack it came rolling up, ragged and brown;
But men must work and women must weep,
Though storms be sudden, and waters deep,
And the harbour-bar be moaning.

III.

Three corpses lay out on the shining sands,
In the morning gleam, as the tide went down,
And the women are watching and wringing their hands,
For those that will never come back to the town;
For men must work, and women must weep—
And the sooner it's over, the sooner to sleep—
And good-bye to the bar and its moaning.

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

Madame Lind Goldschmidt (in reply to an application addressed to her by Mrs. S. C. Hall) has expressed an intention to visit London, for the special purpose of giving a concert in aid of the proposed Nightingale Fund.

——Moustache worn by Clergymen.—The author of *Notes and Queries* remarks:

"When the episcopal wig came into fashion, it would seem that the beard was no longer worn by clergymen. In looking over a collection of prints, I find Wickliffe, William Tydale, Dean Donne, George Herbert, Robert Herrick, Robert Berton, Bishop Jeremy Taylor, Archbishop Spottiswood, Thomas Fuller, Usher, the Primate, and Robert South, all using the moustache; as did John Knox and Bunyan. The Jesuits in India, I believe, still wear it. I have been unable to trace the latest instance of a clergyman wearing his gown and cassack in the streets; the custom apparently died out in the reign of one of the early Georges."

——The Emperor of France.—Faith in his star is his all-dominating conviction. Louis XI. had not firmer reliance on his leaden angels than Louis Napoleon on certain 'lucky penny' he got from a Norwood Gipsy representing herself as the granddaughter of that zingaro who foretold that Josephine would be an Empress. Describing his acquisition of that enchanted coin, one day, shortly after his escape from Ham, when a very disconsolate-looking man about town here, and being asked what he thought would become of him? he replied, he had not the smallest doubt the prediction of the fortune-teller would be fulfilled, that he should become Emperor of the French, the arbiter of Europe, and—die by the hand of a woman! How ridiculous, you exclaim. Well, is it any more so than his whole career for the last seven years would have sounded if spoken of as a thing of possibility seven years ago.—*Liverpool Albion.*

——A Substitute for Tea.—Among the announcements of the day is one to the effect that a botanist in one of the interior towns of France has discovered a native plant, which furnishes an infusion closely resembling in colour, aroma and taste, an infusion of black tea in China. The matter having been brought to the attention of the Emperor, a committee of examination was appointed, and M. Perie, on his return to Cahors, sent them a package of his dried wild herbs. The committee spent several months in its investigation, and has but lately made its report. The Minister of Agriculture has just written to M. Perie, that besides the qualities of taste, smell and colour, which are those of the best China teas, the infusion is tonic and slightly astringent. The grand question of price, he added, is all that requires to be elucidated. The botanist replies that the plant is a common, and thus far unserviceable, weed; and that, even if cultivated, it may easily be produced at the price of twenty cents a pound. The *Presse* is delighted with this discovery, which is inde